Nauruan Customs of Yester-Year - The Girl's Puberty Celebration.

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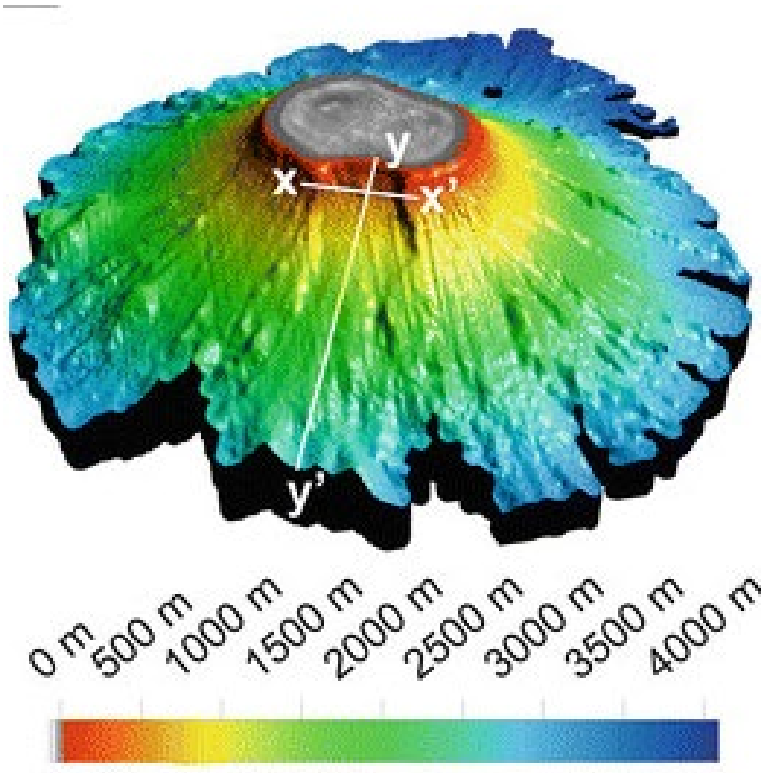
Introduction.

Nauru, according to geologists, is a raised atoll, formed from a coral reef that grew on top of a submerged volcanic seamount, which was later uplifted by tectonic forces.



Multibeam Bathymetry Picture: Krüger Jens C. and Pohler Susanne M.L. 2013

It is an island that almost straddles the equator, lying at 0°32' South - approximately 42 kilometers (about 26 miles) south of the equator.

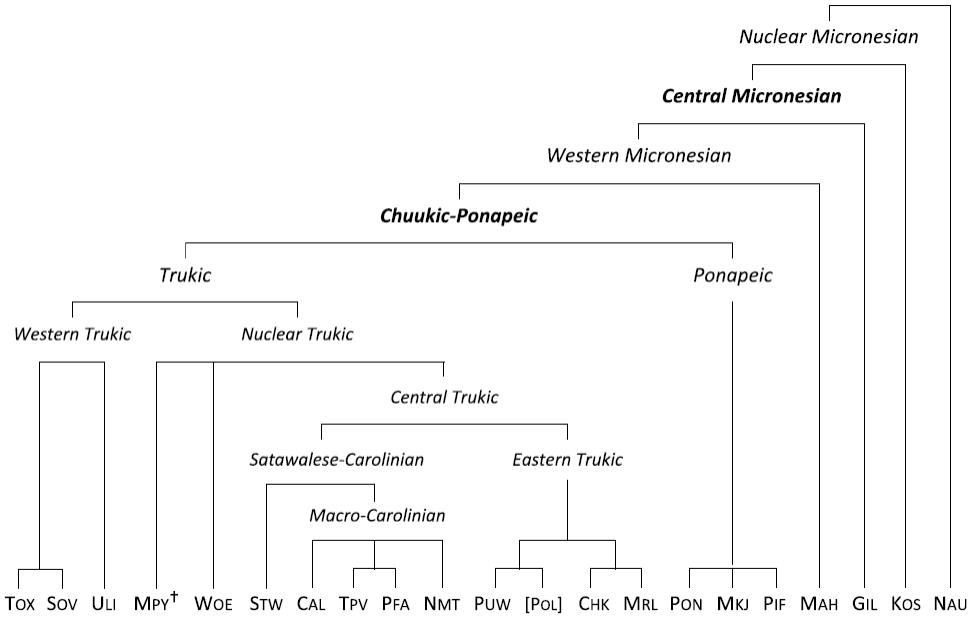
When Nauru was first settled in unknown, however, some indicators can be found by an analysis of the Nauruan language.

Nauruan is recognized by linguists as being a divergent member of the Micronesian language family[1] – itself a division of the Oceanic Group within the extensive Austronesian language family.

As far back as 1986, Frederick H. Jackson intimated that both Nauruan and Kosraean were the earliest settled outposts of the Micronesian peoples (see: On determining the external relationships of the Micronesian languages.)

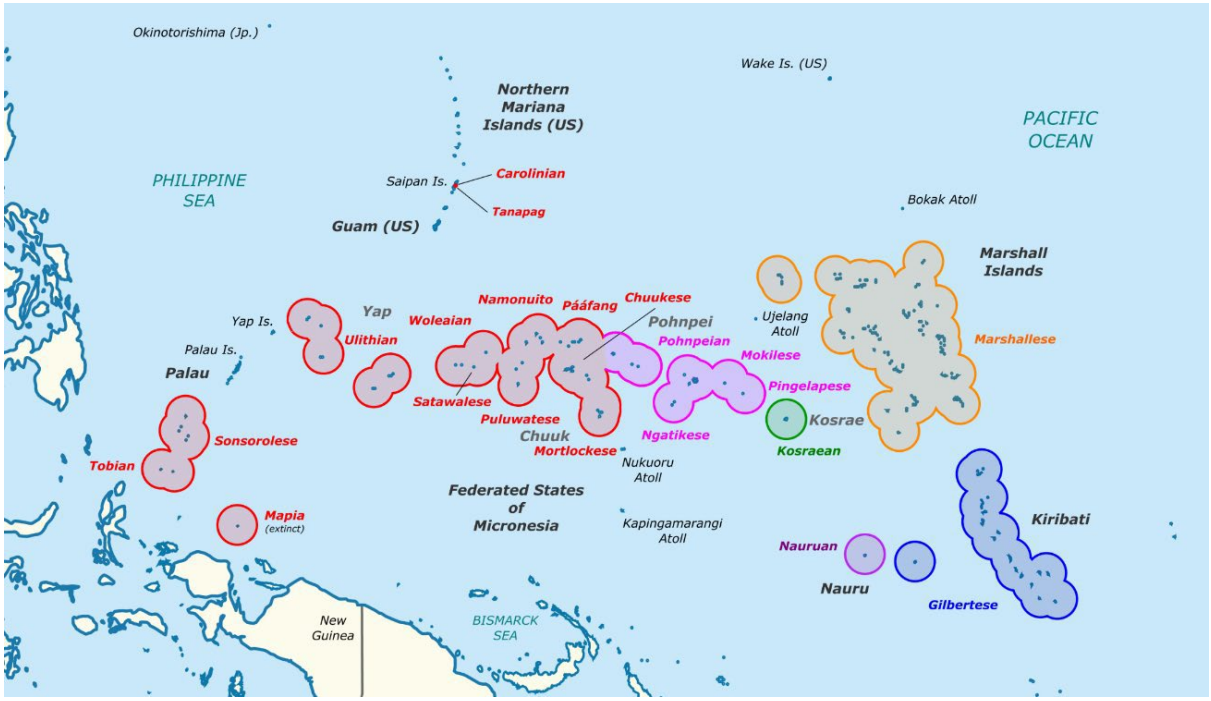
Researchers have not been able to pinpoint the stepping-stone of the Micronesian peoples other than they came from 'Near Oceania' (the Bismark Archipelago and the Solomon Islands, as well as perhaps the northern Vanuatu islands) between 1500 B.C. and 200 B.C. (Petersen 2009:39,40). The distinctiveness of the Nauruan language indicates a prolonged period of near total isolation from when it was first settled.

Figure 1. Phylogenetic Tree of the Micronesian Languages (from Andrea Bender and Sieghard Beller, 'Ways of counting in Micronesia', Historia Mathematica 56 (2021).



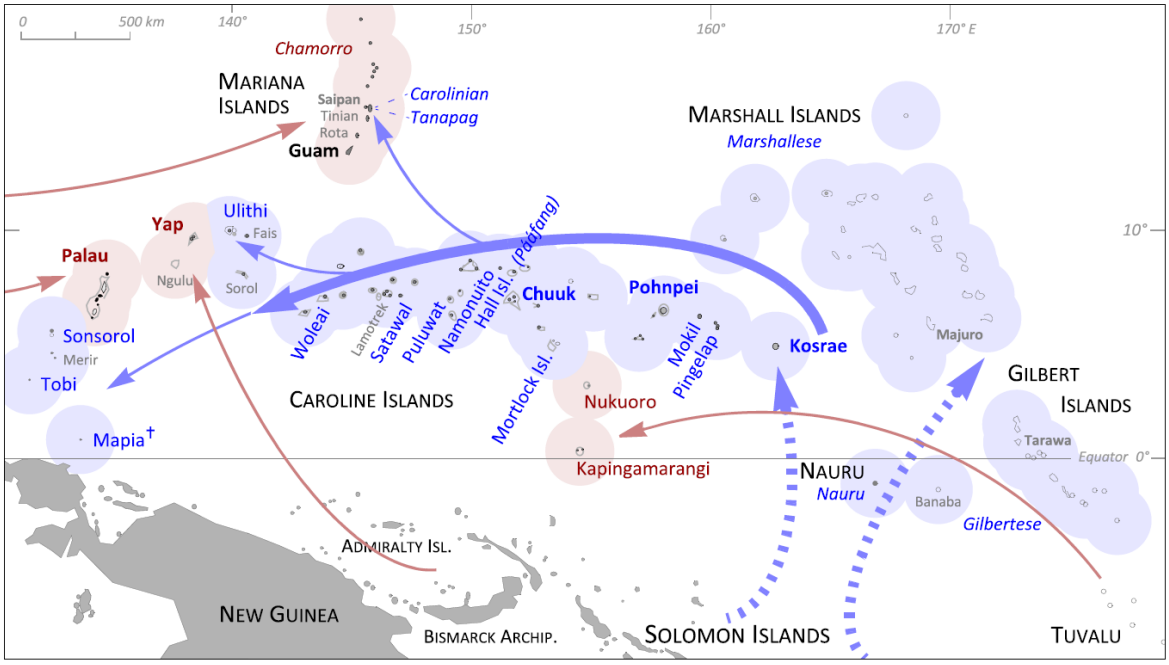
Reference:
CAL = Carolinian
CHK = Chuukese
GIL = Kiribati
KOS = Kosraean
MAH = Marshallese
MKJ = Mokilese
MPY = Mapia (extinct)
MRL = Mortlockese
NAU = Nauruan
NMT = Namonuito
PFA = Pááfang
PIF = Pingelapese
POL = Pollapese (dialect continuum with Puluwatese)
PON = Pohnpeian (including Ngatikese, which is a divergent dialect of Pohnpeian)
PUW = Puluwatese
SOV = Sonsorol
STW = Satawalese
TOX = Tobian
TPV = Tanapag
ULI = Ulithian
WOE = Woleaian

Map 1. Map of Micronesian Language Family. *(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Tyk)*



Map 2. Micronesian Expansion (from Andrea Bender and Sieghard Beller, 'Ways of counting in Micronesia', Historia Mathematica 56 (2021).

Micronesian pathways in blue, non-Micronesian ones in dark red.
Shaded circles indicate a 100-mile radius around islands, the average distance of an overnight voyage (Marck, 1986)



The only occasional contact seems to have been drift canoes and their occupants from the Kiribati chain of islands as evidenced by the family trees recorded from Nauru and the large number of loan words originating in the Kiribati language, and even rarer visits from the Marshall Islands. Franz Hernsheim reported: [2]

"There are a number of undeniable cases known that Marshallese islanders were washed up to Pleasant Island [an earlier name for Nauru] and the western Carolines, at distances of 1500 nautical miles."

Nauru had contact with European/American individuals from the early 1800's. The newspaper 'Launceston Examiner', published in Launceston (Tasmania), in its issue of Saturday 2 September 1843, gave a report from a 'Captain Samson' of the vessel 'Giraffe', in which he stated that it was reported to him that seven Europeans resided on the island at that time.

This European contact resulted in a loss of population through disease and strong spirits, and a period of armed conflicts with the introducion of firearms. This continued until the German Empire proclaimed a protectorate over the island on 3 October 1888, bringing in a period of stability and peace.

The first census taken by the German Imperial authorities enumerated 1,294 islanders. However, the population prior to European contact would have been significantly greater. Paul Hambruch in his work on Nauru in 1910 [3] obtained the names of some 169 hamlets (homesteads), 40 of which were uninhabited in 1910. So, the pre-contact population may have been nearer 2,500 during drought free periods and barring natural disasters like tsunamis or cyclones. [4]

Like all of the Pacific islanders, the population collapsed from the moment of European contact with the introduction of influenza varieties unknow to them, as well as Measles and Smallpox. Similar stories of population collapse have been recorded for the Iles Sous-le-Vent in the the Society Islands (100,000+ down to 8,000 in a fifty year period); the Marquesas Islands (circa 100,000 down to 12,000 in a fifty year period; Hawai'i (300,000+ down to 190,000 in a fifty year period) (see Sodter, F. 1993. L' Histoire Démographique. Atlas de la Polynésie Francaise. Institut français de recherche scientifique pour le développement en coopération; Robert C. Schmitt. 1971. New Estimates of the pre-censal population of Hawaii. The Journal of the Polynesian Society Vol.80, No. 2.); and a similar collapse for the First Nations of the Americas from the moment contact was made with Europeans. These collapses are mostly unrecorded (as with Nauru) as they pre-date sustained European contact.

With regard to diseases, Nauru suffered three serious outbreaks in the 20th Century. As reported by Camilla Hildegarde Wedgwood: in 1907 dysentery resullted in about 150 deaths; in 1910 a form of 'paralysis' carried off more than 50; and in 1920 Spanish Flu resulted in about 100 deaths. [5]

Shortly after German annexation, missionaries of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches began to be active on the island.

The German administration of Nauru ended at the beginning WW1, when on 9th September 1914 Nauru was occupied by Australian forces. After military control came to an end at the end of WW1, Nauru was then administered by Australia under a League of Nations mandate until the outbreak of WW2. In 1940 the Nauruan people numbered 1800 (Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Nauru during the year 1940, page 25). Following the invasion and occupation of Nauru by the Imperial Japanese Forces on 26th August 1942, a horrendous situation befell the Nauruans. Mistreatment and food shortages were daily sufferings until liberation by the Australian armed forces on 13th September 1945 (Yuki Tanaka 2010). This was compounded by the forced removal of 1200 Nauruans to the Chuuk archipelago in 1943 where mistreatment and starvation resulted in a 38% fatality rate. It is estimated that up to 500 Nauruans died as a result of the Japanese occupation and forced removal. Australian administration was resumed in 1945 and the United Nations established a Trust Territory status for Nauru under Australian administration. Nauru achieved independence in 1968.

By the time the people of Nauru and their customs were investigated by Europeans, at least important factors had impacted the continuation of these: firstly, the influence of European culture starting in the 1840's with whalers, beachcombers and others; and secondly, the arrival of missionaries from the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches that quickly led to the marginalizing of native Nauruan customs and beliefs.

At first European contact, Nauruan society was divided into 12 clans (usually referred to as tribes). Clan membership was inherited from the mother, and marriage was not permitted by a man and a woman of the same clan [matrilineal, exogamous clans].

A long term European resident stated in c.1902 that the Irutsi had 6 members, and the Iwi just 2 . [6] Hambruch and Wedgwood reported that the Irutsi and Iwi clans were no longer in existence. An anomaly appears in the 2002 and 2011 censuses, which enumerated persons who gave their clan membership as belonging to these two “extinct“ clans.

The number and proportion of people without knowledge to which tribe they belonged stood increased from 6.3% to 9.3% of the population between 2002 and 2011, indicating a gradual breakdown in the clan system.

Table 1. Nauruan Population by tribe/clan: 1935, 2002 and 2011

	1935	2002	2011
	clan number& Percentage of Total		
Deiboe	167 [10.5%]	548 [7.2%]	789 [7.9%]
Eamangum	51 [3.2%]	121 [1.6%]	136 [1.3%]
Eamwidara	33 [2%]	162 [2.1%]	190 [1.9%]
Eamwit	392 [24.6%]	1,696 [22.4%]	1,972 [19.8%]
Eamwitmwit	274 [17.2	1,259 [16.6%]	1,758 [17.6%]
Eano	36 [2.2%]	224 [2.9%]	265 [2.6%]
Emea	186 [11.6%]	616 [8.1%]	710 [7.1%]
Eaoru	96 [6%]	159 [2.1%]	212 [2.1%]
Irutsi	0	5 [0.06%]	4 [.04%]
Iruwa	328 [20.6%]	2,262 [30%]	2,900 [29.1%]
Iwi	0	0	7 [0.07%]
Ranibok	28 [1.7%]	41 [0.5%]	73 [0.7%]
No Tribe/Unknown	0	479 [6.3%]	929 [9.3%]
Total	1,591	7,572	9,945

Based on Ang Kadat Memak Census 2011 (Republic of Nauru) and Oceania, Vol. 6 No. 4, 1936

Methodology.

Where a narrative from Paul Hambruch's work is presented in the Nauruan language, the Nauruan narrative is presented with its original orthography, alongside an attempt to regularize the Nauruan orthography to facilitate referencing. In addition, the German paraphrase provided by Hambruch is given, along with an English translation of the same. [7]

With regard to Paul Hambruch's original Nauruan text, his many diacritics used in conjunction with vowels and consonants appear to be very close to the phonetic alphabet recommended by the German Catholic clergyman/linguist Wilhelm Schmidt, that appeared in his journal 'Anthropos' in 1907. [8] Paul Hambruch had little, if any, understanding of Nauruan grammar and phonetics and he was not a trained linguist. This is very evident by the inconsistent usage of the many diachritic markers on both vowels and consonants by Hambruch and by the numerous mis-recordings of words made by him.

Some of the Nauruan chants/songs recorded by Hambruch have been arbitrarily divided into paragraphs for ease of reference, and the original page numbers appear in square brackets. The 'alternative' orthography is not intended to be definitive as the Nauruan community has never adopted an official orthography, even though the Australian colonial administration gazetted one such in the Government Gazette. [9] Unfortunately, the post-Colonial administration has never instituted a bilingual teaching curriculum thus promoting language loss. The Nauruan constitution adopted at independence in 1968 is published solely in English and does not even mention the Nauruan language.

Inherent Deficiencies. [10]

Most societies at one stage or another incorporated a celebration of a girl's first menstruation as a coming-of-age celebration, thus introducing the girl to womanhood. In fact, this was the case in Nauru. The British anthropologist Camilla H. Wedgwood makes this observation in 1935: [11]

Girls of *temonibe* rank were married almost immediately after puberty ; those of lower status probably within two or three years of it. I have no data to show what the average age at which girls attain puberty, but it is probably about 13 or 14.

The present paper presents the work of Paul Hambruch, a German ethnologist, who visited Nauru in 1910 for a month or so. An immediate deficiency is evident in that the information he obtained on the subject of the puberty celebration were from Kenemei and Abubu, both males. As this celebration was in the female domain, it is very probable that knowledge of the full celebration would only have been obtained from senior women. However, it is what it is.

A further inherent deficiency in Paul Hambruch's work is the fact that many cultural aspects that relate to ceremonies and cultural items came under the Nauruan customary law of *kirire.* Wedgwood, quoted earlier, made this observation on *kirire*: [12]

There is no single word in English by which this one can be translated but in general it signifies special ornaments-necklaces, anklets, armbands, etc., of which the more important component parts are valuable shells, sharks' teeth and frigate-bird feathers-special costumes or types of body decoration, and special ornamental designs which are worked in the mats and other objects made from plaited pandanus which the people use both in their daily and ritual life, all of which have been handed down from generation to generation. Some of the ornamental kirire are associated with distinctive rituals, and these too are classed as kirire. I was never able fully to understand the system of kirire but it seems clear that their possession was closely bound up with a person's prestige, and that to own a large number of them was indicative of high social status. Furthermore, some of them appear to have been commemorative of great achievements of the owner's forebears. The more elaborate ornaments were not worn except on festal occasions and to-day they are very seldom seen. Even the kirire designs on mats are rare now, and many of the women have forgotten how to work them. [10]

It follows that some of the aspects of the celebration only related to a Deiboe clan family, or that some of the cultural items such as object names, painting designs etc. were specific to only a cetain clan family.

Notwithstanding all these deficiencies, it is the longest description of the Nauruan puberty celebration published.

To be read in conjuction with Hambruch's work are the later comments by the British anthropologist Camilla H. Wedgood following her 1935 stay on Nauru, and by the French ethnologist Solange Petit-Skinner following her stay on Nauru in 1975/1976. These additional commentaries are included as addenda at the end on this paper.

In addition to the text being presented in English for the first time, additional comments and information is given.

TEXT

From: Hambruch, Paul. 1914.1. Ergebnisse Der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910: II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien, Band 1: Nauru, 1 Halbband pages 220-238.

[p.220]

Das Pubertätsfest für Mädchen.[4] Der Eintritt eines Mädchens der vornehmen Klasse in die Reife wird mit großen Festlichkeiten begangen. Die Zeremonien sind nicht bei allen Sippen absolut dieselben, kleine Abweichungen bestehen; im großen und ganzen verlaufen sie jedoch in der folgenden Weise.

[4] Die Schilderung wurde mir von Kẹnemẹ́i ♂ und Abubu ♂ gegeben.

Dies Pubertätsfest, *ẹ kadaro*, wird in zwei Abteilungen gefeiert, die durch eine

[p.221]

Ruhezeit von elf Monaten getrennt sind. Jede erstreckt sich über eine Anzahl Tage. Sie sind jedoch nicht gleich lang. In der ersten Abteilung, *ẹoẹob*, feiert man sechs Tage; dann tritt die elfmonatige Ruhepause ein, und die zweite Abteilung, *ẹ kadaro*, dauert nur zwei Tage.

Dieses Pubertätsfest bildet den Abschluß einer Reihe von Weihegebräuchen, die seit der Geburt des Mädchens sorgfältig beobachtet wurden und von denen einige im vorhergegangenen Abschnitt erwähnt sind.

The Puberty Celebration for girls. [4]

[4 The description was given to me by Kenemei and Abubu, both males]

The entry of a girl from the upper class into adulthood is celebrated with great festivities. The ceremonies are not exactly the same for all families; minor variations exist; however, on the whole, they proceed in the following manner.

This puberty festival, *ẹ kadaro*, is celebrated in two parts, separated by a rest period of eleven months. Each part lasts a number of days. However, they are not of equal length. In the first section, *ẹoẹob*, there are six days of celebration; then comes the eleven-month rest period, and the second section, *ẹ kadaro*, lasts only two days.

This puberty celebration marks the conclusion of a series of consecration rites that have been carefully observed since the girl's birth, some of which are mentioned in the preceding section.

Jeder Festtag hat seine besonderen Gebräuche, die symbolisch die Loslösung des Mädchens vom Elternhause, den Abschied von der Kinderzeit, seine Aufnahme in die Gesellschaft der Erwachsenen und heiratstähigen Frauen veranschaulichen. Die Ohrdurchlochung bildet den Höhepunkt aller dieser Pubertätsweihen.

Bei der Kürze meines Besuches war es mir nur möglich, diese Gebräuche für eine Sippe, die der tebo͡i aufzuzeichnen. Ich mußte mich dabei auf die Gewissenhaftigkeit meiner Gewährsmänner verlassen. Gesehen habe ich von den Festen nichts, denn sie sind kurz nach dem Einzug der Missionen verschwunden. Nur die Tänze haben sich erhalten und werden jährlich einmal, an Kaisers Geburtstag, aufgeführt. Auch sie werden bald verschwunden sein, da mit dem Wegsterben der alten, gesang- und tanzerfahrenen und -frohen Leute die Lehrmeister fehlen.

Each feast day has its special customs, which symbolically illustrate the girl's separation from her parents' home, her farewell to childhood, and her entry into the society of adults and marriageable women. The piercing of the ears forms the culmination of all these puberty initiations. Given the brevity of my visit, I was only able to record these customs for one clan, that of the *tebo͡i*. I had to rely on the conscientiousness of my informants. I saw nothing of the festivities, for they disappeared shortly after the arrival of the missions. Only the dances have survived and are performed once a year, on the Emperor's birthday. They, too, will soon disappear, since with the passing of the old, experienced, and joyful people, the teachers are gone.

Die erste Abteilung, *e̱o e̱o b.*

Erster Tag. Sobald beim Mädchen zum ersten Mal die Menstruation, *e̱ kadaro*, eintritt, macht es davon den Eltern Mitteilung. Doch wird sie niemals von *e̱kadaro* sprechen; das ist unschicklich; sie sagt *ŏ gorọt e̱ tägue̱* = der Wal kommt aus der See. So fordert es der Anstand; denn wenn ein Wal erscheint, eilt alles an den Strand, um ihn sich anzusehen.

— Die Worte bergen den Hinweis auf das am nächsten Tage stattfindende Tanzfest. —

Für die kommenden Tage werden nun allerlei Vorbereitungen getroffen. Die Eltern nehmen die Tochter ins Haus hinein und rufen die Großmutter (mütterlicherseits) herbei. Lebt diese nicht mehr, so wird ihre Stelle von der Großtante oder auch der älteren Schwester der Mutter vertreten.

The first section, *e̱o e̱o b*.

First day.

As soon as the girl experiences her first menstruation, *e̱ kadaro*, she informs her parents. However, she will never speak of *e̱ kadaro*; that is considered improper; she says *ŏ gorọt e̱ tăgue̱* = 'the whale comes from the sea' [o, 3rd Sing. Dependent Pronoun; goro, 'to run'; edagua, ' whale']. This is what propriety demands; for when a whale appears, everyone rushes to the beach to see it.

- The words contain a reference to the dance festival taking place the following day. -

All sorts of preparations are now made for the coming days. The parents take their daughter into the house and summon her maternal grandmother. If she is no longer alive, her place is taken by the great-aunt or the mother's older sister.

Sie nimmt die erste Weihe vor. Man bringt einen schon in Bereitschaft gehaltenen schönen Gürtel aus Menschenhaaren, *itip*, herbei und legt ihn um die Hüften des Mädchens. An diesem Gürtel befestigt die Großmutter vorn und hinten einige schmale Kokosblattfiedern. Der Schmuck deckt nur eben die Blöße des Mädchens; der übrige Körper bleibt nackend. Dann salbt die Großmutter dem Kinde die Geschlechtsteile mit Kokosöl und fängt dabei das rinnende Menstruationsblut mit den Fingern auf und reibt es sich ins Haar. *Abidan tib ĭn arān* heißt der Brauch.

Indessen hat sich die Nachricht von diesem wichtigen, für alle soviel Freude und Feste verheißenden Ereignis im Gau verbreitet. Sie kommen sämtlich herbei, um dem

[p.222]

Mädchen ihre Freude darüber zu bezeugen, und jeder bringt als äußeres Zeichen eine Anzahl schön geflochtener Matten mit.

The first consecration is performed. A beautiful belt made of human hair, *itip* [itũb], which has already been prepared, is brought forth and placed around the girl's hips. The grandmother attaches several narrow coconut leaf feathers to this belt, one at the front and one at the back. The adornment just covers the girl's nakedness; the rest of her body remains bare. Then the grandmother anoints the child's genitals with coconut oil, catching the flowing menstrual blood with her fingers and rubbing it into her hair. The custom is called *abidan tib ĭn arān* [possibly *õbidõn tũbwin aran*, 'anointing her head with her blood'; õbid, 'to anoint'; -õn, Instrumental suffix; tũbwin, 'head+3rd Sing.Possess.'; aran, 'blood+3rd Sing. Possess.'].

Meanwhile, news of this important event, promising so much joy and celebration for everyone, has spread throughout the region. They all come to express their joy to the girls, [p.222] and each brings a number of beautifully woven mats as an outward sign.

Im Elternhaus wird dem Mädchen am heiligsten Platz, am Mittelpfosten, eine Art Thron bereitet. Er besteht aus großen hellfarbenen, von Kokosblattfiedern geflochtenen Matten, *e̱ ke̱maro*. Nach althergebrachter Weise läßt es sich auf diesen Matten in streng vorgeschriebener Haltung nieder: den Körper ein wenig nach vorn über gebeugt, die Hände auf dem Schoße gekreuzt, mit untergeschlagenen Knieen muß es unverwandt nach dem Strande hinblicken. In dieser Haltung hat es bis nach Sonnenuntergang zu verharren und darf den Platz nicht eher verlassen.

Die Volksmenge feiert unterdessen vor'm Hause den Beginn der Pubertätsfeste durch eine gehörige Schmauserei, *katarot ē̱nemuĕn e̱r̄ă*. Daran nimmt das Mädchen nur als Zuschauerin teil. Es darf nichts davon genießen, sondern hat sich mit einer Speise aus Pandanus und junger Kokosnuß zu begnügen, die Zusätze von Fischfleisch nicht enthalten darf.

In the family home, a kind of throne is prepared for the girl in the most sacred place, at the central post. It consists of large, light-colored mats woven from coconut leaf fronds. According to ancient custom, she sits down on these mats, *e̱ ke̱maro*, in a strictly prescribed posture: her body bent slightly forward, her hands crossed in her lap, her knees tucked under her, gazing intently towards the shore. She must remain in this position until after sunset and may not leave the place until then.

Meanwhile, the crowd celebrates the beginning of the puberty festivities in front of the house with a proper feast, *katarot ē̱nemuĕn ē̱rā̆*. The girl participates only as a spectator. She may not eat any of it, but must content herself with a dish of pandanus and young coconut, which may not contain any fish.

Zweiter Tag. Die Eltern und Dorfgenossen beschäftigen sich heute angelegentlichst mit der künftigen Wohnstätte des Mädchens. Im Elternhause wird ihm ein kleines Zimmer *ẹdăko* errichtet, das es völlig gegen die Außenwelt abschließt. Es wird in der Mitte des Hauses errichtet und besteht aus vier Matten, die von den Dachsparren herabhängen. (Abb. 13). Nur das Mädchen und seine Großmutter dürfen den Raum betreten. Diese darf es auch allein dann, wenn sie ihrer Enkelin die Scham salbt. Das geschieht zweimal am Tage, morgens und abends, und zwar mit einem anderen Öl als des Tags zuvor; es ist wohlriechend und mit Spermazet oder Harzen,[1] *dakarē̱*, versetzt.

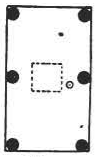


Abb. 13. Das Mattenhäuschen *ẹdako*, im Wohnhause.

Die Dorfgenossen richten dem Mädchen besondere Plätze zu, so einen Badeplatz, *ẹtaṅ iū́go*, der ausschließlich seiner Benutzung dient. Ebenfalls wird ihm am Strande ein Abort eingerichtet, zu dem ein mit Kokosnüssen eingefaßter Weg hinabführt.

Day two.

The parents and villagers are today diligently discussing the girl's future residence. In her parents' house, a small room, *ẹdăko* [room, girl's house], is built for her, which completely seals her off from the outside world. It is built in the middle of the house and consists of four mats hanging from the rafters. (see Abb.13) Only the girl and her grandmother are allowed to enter the room. She is also allowed in alone when she anoints her granddaughter's genitals. This is done twice a day, morning

and evening, with a different oil than the previous day; it is fragrant and mixed with spermaceti [sperm whale oil] or resins, *dakarẹ* [dagare; the resins drift on the reefs with the westerly wind].

The villagers provide special places for the girl, such as a bathing place, *ẹtaṅ iū́go* [*etang*, 'the place'; *ugo*, 'to bathe'] which is exclusively for her use. A latrine is also provided for her on the beach to which a path lined with coconuts leads down.

Wenn es hierhin geht, darf es die Haut nicht den Sonnenstrahlen aussetzen, sondern muß sich in eine große Matte einhüllen. Den Urin läßt es jedoch im Hause in ein Körbchen, *itubăr̄*, das alsdann von der Großmutter an den Strand getragen und ausgewaschen wird. Festlichkeiten finden an diesem Tage nicht statt.

Dritter Tag. Dem Ruhetag folgt ein großer Festtag. Noch vor Sonnenaufgang erheben sich in den Häusern die gleichaltrigen Gespielinnen[2], *dẹaē̱nimuĕnē̱r̄a*, der temonibẹ-Tochter von ihren Matten und machen ihre Festtoilette. Alte Frauen salben ihnen die Scham und bekleiden sie mit dem gleichen Festgewand, dem *itĭp* und den Kokosblattfiedern, welches das Mädchen am ersten Tage trug. Kein männliches Individuum darf dabei anwesend sein. Dann versammeln sich die Kinder und ziehen ge-

[1] Die Harze treiben mit dem Westwinde am Riffe an.

[2] Sie dürfen noch nicht menstruiert sein.

[p.223]

meinsam zum *e̱dăko*, um die Gefeierte abzuholen. Scherzend, unter mancherlei Kurzweil geht die Schar dann zum Strand und erwartet den Aufgang der Sonne. Und sobald die Sonne sich über den Horizont erhebt, beginnt der erste Festtanz.

When going here, one must not expose the skin to the sun's rays, but must wrap oneself in a large mat. However, she urinates in the house into a basket, *itubăr̄* [itũbwer, 'mat'], which is then carried to the beach by the grandmother and washed. No festivities take place on this day.

Third day.

The day of rest is followed by a great feast day. Even before sunrise, in the houses, the playmates of the same age as the temonibe daughter - *de̱ae̱nimuěnĕr̄a* [they must not have menstruated yet] rise from their mats and perform their festive toilette. Old women anoint their genitals and dress them in the same festive garment, the *itĭb*, and the coconut frond leaflets, which the girl wore on the first day. No male individual may be present. Then the children gather [p.223] and go together to the *e̱dăko* to pick up the girl being celebrated. Joking and enjoying various amusements, the group then goes to the beach and awaits the sunrise. And as soon as the sun rises above the horizon, the first celebratory dance begins.

Die Mädchen teilen sich in zwei Haufen. Der eine bleibt am Strande stehen, der andere, mit ihm das temonibe̱-Mädchen, trippelt ins Wasser auf das Riff. Sie beginnen einen Wechselgesang. Hell, klar, langsam, mit langgezogenen Tönen rufen sie über das Wasser — der Tanzhaufen auf dem Riffe beginnt:

[1] Alle folgenden Liederübersetzungen sind sehr frei, da entweder bei den z. T. alten Wortformen die Eingeborenen nur den Wortsinn kannten, andererseits, wie es sich jetzt bei der Durchprüfung herausstellt, besonders anstößige Stellen anders wiedergaben; ich gebe die Übersetzung so wie ich sie in Nauru erhalten habe.

The girls split into two groups. One group stays on the beach, the other, along with the temonibe̱-girl, tiptoes into the water onto the reef. They begin a call-and-response chant. Bright, clear, slow, with drawn-out notes, they call across the water – the dance group on the reef begins:

All the following song translations are very free, since either the natives only knew the literal meaning of the partly old word forms, or, as it now turns out upon review, particularly offensive passages were rendered differently; I give the translation as I received it in Nauru.

»*E̱nā́nā oanii ō!* *amare̱ rā͡udu,* *bue̱ e̱ aba driṅīdriṅ ō!*«	»Ihr Mädchen alle zusammen, oho![1] Steht auf und kommt her, denn die Sonne geht auf, oho!«	"All you girls together, oh! Stand up and come here, for the sun is rising, oh!"

Die Gerufenen folgen. Die einen ziehen weiter an den Strand hinab, die anderen nähern sich vom Riffe her. Beide Haufen vereinigen sich wieder auf dem trockenen Sandstrand, stellen sich in zwei Reihen auf und singen, indem sie den Takt durch Händeklatschen angeben:

Those called follow. Some continue down to the beach, others approach from the reef. Both groups reunite on the dry sand, form two lines, and sing, keeping time by clapping their hands.

»*E̱mé̱i uidu ńan ma raṅaraṅa,* *ōr̄e̱ mōr̄e̱ ṅọ ue̱to ean e̱buería,* *igogáue akanuia͡u* *aeop' a͡i e̱buer̄ bue̱ siāto* *uāname̱ rabako͡i rabako͡i?*«	»Wogen rollen heran und brechen sich donnernd, es glättet sich das Wasser, es fließt zurück, zurück zum großen Stein und wir tanzen um dich und für dich; Ein Korb fällt vom Stein herab, weißt du noch, wie wir mit dem Netze, dem Netze fischten?«	Waves roll in and break thunderously, the water calms, it flows back, back to the big stone and we dance around you and for you; A basket falls from the stone, do you remember how we fished with the net, the net?

Zum Schluß schlägt die Gesellschaft vom *eaṅīt, e̱de̱ta, iọ, e̱kuane̱, e̱ka͡uue̱, de̱ne̱nō, idibe̱nār̄, eāeo, are̱kogo* Büsche und Zweige ab, um sie nachher um das Elternhaus ihrer Gespielin zu pflanzen. Hat jeder genug gesammelt, dann begeben sie sich alle auf den Rückweg. Sie tanzen und singen und heben dabei fröhlich lustig ihre Schürzchen vorn in die Höhe:

Finally, the group cuts down bushes and branches from the *eaṅīt*, *e̱de̱ta*, *iọ*, *ekuane̱*, *eka͡uue̱*, *de̱ne̱nō*, *idibe̱nār̄*, *eāeo*, *are̱kogo* plants in order to plant them afterwards around the parents' house of their playmate. Once everyone has gathered enough, they all head back. They dance and sing, merrily lifting their aprons high in the air.

»*Itinape aratŏn ẹmān ō!* *uéidu muer̄umuer̄ amẹ baroduai͡?* *ua tẹrāuaṅa?* *ua tiruuoṅa?* *uẹo aeai͡o* *muẹn muijep unẹă!* *ua tẹrāuaṅa?* *ua tiruuoṅa?* *puitik eat eaijiro,* [p.224] *a tarẹtau͡p' ai,* *ia puẹna, iapuẹna!*[1] *eọr̄ magẹ magẹ magagẹ!*«	»Teilt Euch in zwei Ateilungen, Männer oho! Du flüsterst mir in's Ohr, ich soll zu Dir gehen? was willst Du von mir? was willst Du mit mir? sieh mich nicht an, sonst kratzen und verwunden Dich Haizähne! was willst Du von mir? was willst Du mit mir? Leute kommt her, [p.224] ich will mit Dir gehen, hebt die Schurze hoch, hebt die Schurze hoch! Schaut her, schaut her, schaut!« [1] Bei jedem Worte wird der Schurz vorn gelüftet.	Split into two groups, men, oh boy! You whisper in my ear to come to you? What do you want from me? What do you want with me? Don't look at me, or shark teeth will scratch and wound you! What do you want from me? What do you want with me? Come here, everyone! [p.224] I want to go with you, lift up your apron [1] , lift up your apron Look here, look here, look! [1] With each word, the apron is lifted at the front.

Vor dem Hause, das die Eltern inzwischen verlassen und ihrer Tochter zum Eigentum übergeben haben, zerstreut sich die Schar und pflanzt die mitgebrachten Büsche und Zweige ein. Das geschieht an der Seite des Hauses, die der See zugewandt ist. Denn von der See her kommt alles Gute, Winde und Regen, die Fruchtbarkeit bringen. Und wie wir in der Weihnachtszeit die Christbäume mit Geschenken behängen, welche den Gästen überreicht werden sollen, so schmücken die Mädchen auch diese Büsche und Zweige aus. Allerlei Kostbarkeiten und Gebrauchsgegenstände werden hineingebunden, so aus Menschenhaaren geflochtene Gürtel, angebrannte Kokosnußkerne, rote Pektenmuscheln, Kokosschalen, Fregattvogelfedern, Ibia-, Seefische, Perlmutterschalen, Ibiafanggeräte, Tritonsschnecken usw. Die Dinge haben die Mädchen dem elterlichen Besitz entnommen; und wer nun dem temonibẹ-Mädchen einen Besuch abstattet, darf sich aus diesen Büschen einen Gegenstand aussuchen und mitnehmen.

In front of the house, which the parents have since left and given to their daughter as their own, the group disperses and plants the bushes and branches they have brought with them. This is done on the side of the house facing the lake. For from the sea comes all good things: winds and rain that bring fertility. And just as we decorate Christmas trees with gifts to give to our guests at Christmastime, so the girls also decorate these bushes and branches. All sorts of treasures and everyday objects are tied into them, such as belts woven from human hair, burnt coconut kernels, red pectin shells, coconut shells, frigatebird feathers, *ibia* and other sea fish, mother-of-pearl shells, *ibia* fishing gear, Triton's conch shells, etc. The girls have taken these things from their parents' possessions; And whoever now pays a visit to the temonibẹ-girl, may choose an item from these and take it with them.

Am Nachmittag findet ein zweites Fest statt, bei dem die Gespielinnen Sitztänze aufführen. Eine genaue Ordnung wird dabei innegehalten. Auf dem Tanzplatz, der sich vor den am Morgen eingepflanzten Büschen befindet hat jede Tänzerin ihren besonderen Platz und Sitz. Diese Sitze, *ẹdẹbai̯*, sind alle untereinander verschieden. Die temonibẹ-Tochter läßt sich inmitten der Tänzerinnen auf einer Kokosblattunterlage nieder, während die Mädchen auf Steinen, Korallenstücken, Kokosblattstielen, Hülsen usw. sitzen. Alle sind festlich gekleidet; namentlich strahlt die Gefeierte im Schmuck. Um den Hals trägt sie eine Kette aus roten *eṅa*-Scheibchen, die in der Mitte durch eine weiße Schnecke, *ẹ kóuṗ'*, zusammengehalten werden; die Armbänder, *rẹjẹtẹbẹ* bestehen aus Kokosfiedern, Hibiskusbast und Pandanusblättern; der Gürtel *ẹ kadabāniṅ* ist aus einzelnen, langen, schmalen, zugeschlagenen Stücken der roten Pektenmuschel zusammengesetzt; um die Fußgelenke werden Blattbüschel, *rajẹtána*, gebunden. Wenn die Festteilnehmer beisammen sind und sich um den Tanzplatz aufgestellt oder niedergehockt haben, nehmen die Tänzerinnen ihre Plätze ein, und Tanz und Gesang beginnen.

In the afternoon, a second festival takes place, during which the female companions perform seated dances. A precise order is observed. On the dance floor, located in front of the bushes planted in the morning, each dancer has her own designated place and seat. These seats, *ẹdẹbai̯*, are all different from one another. The temonibẹ-daughter sits down on a coconut leaf mat in the middle of the dancers, while the girls sip on stones, pieces of coral, coconut leaf stems, pods, etc. All are festively dressed; the celebrated woman, in particular, shines with jewelry. Around her neck, she wears a necklace of red *eṅa* discs, held together in the middle by a white snail shell *ẹ kóuṗ'*; the bracelets, *rẹjẹtẹbẹ*, consist of coconut fibers, hibiscus bast, and pandanus leaves; The belt *ẹ kadabāniṅ* is composed of individual, long, narrow, chopped pieces of the red pectin shell; tufts of leaves, *rajẹtána*, are tied around the ankles. When the festival participants are gathered and have positioned themselves around the dance floor or squatted down, the dancers take their places, and the dancing and singing begin.

Der Tanz ist sehr anmutig. Mit zierlichen Bewegungen rollen die Mädchen die Hände vor der Brust und bewegen dabei taktmäßig den Körper, bald ein wenig nach rechts, dann nach links sich neigend, schwenken sie die ausgestreckten Arme nach den Seiten, gehen in die Ruhelage zurück und klatschen in die Hände (s. Tafel 13, Abb. 2). Am Schluß jeder Liedstrophe machen sie Handbewegungen, als ob sie irgend etwas von unten herauf in den Körper, in die Scham hineinzwängen wollten.

The dance is very graceful. With delicate movements, the girls roll their hands in front of their chests, moving their bodies rhythmically, leaning slightly to the right, then to the left, swinging their outstretched arms to the sides, returning to a resting position, and clapping their hands (see Plate 13, Fig. 2).

At the end of each verse, they make hand movements as if they were trying to force something upwards into their bodies, into their genitals.

Brandeis phot.

1. Mädchentanz djidere.

Brandeis phot.

2. Sitztanz kabura.

Amaṅo, amaṅo! *e̱nimuĭn adā́t ar̄ur̄u!* *puéišiăk arēata,* [p.225] *orĕn ue̱bida ābáda* *r̄ar̄ĕn ue̱manoep'!*	Vorwärts, voran! Frau paß auf deine Sachen! ich habe sie nicht aufgehängt, denn ich salbte mich und bin soeben trocken!	Forward, forward! Woman, watch your things! I didn't hang them up. [p.225] For I anointed myself and am now dry!
A͡ia uidẹ́idĭr ma͡ia kobo͡i uā, *a͡iau̯ ue̱bit ue̱bit ue̱t eokue̱r̄a,*[1] *bua raméi ioṅā ābit, ue̱bita* *ma͡ia ta͡i eop' ea re̱n, ue̱bĭda,* *māukŏṅ e̱ iaṅ māraṅāra.* *r̄amōn rie̱dua* *mararaṅara͡uṅā* *akuăn nama͡u.* *bitide̱n a͡i kuaraeaana͡u.* *eokue̱r̄a ānabē̱k* *arama anabăga!*	Ich gab dir ein Versprechen und ich vertraue dir, gesalbt erwartete ich dich, mein Silberfischchen, denn ich vergaß es nicht, ich salbte mich, stets vertraute ich dir, ich salbte mich; Meine alten Nüsse gehören dir mein Halsband. Jeder soll das Mädchen sehen, das schön ist wie mein Halsband, das schön ist wie die Sonne. Sie ist die Herrlichste. O, wie der Silberfisch im Wasser so schön bist du mein Mädchen!	I made you a promise and I trust you, anointed I awaited you, my little silverfish, for I didn't forget, I anointed myself, always I trusted you, I anointed myself; My old nuts belong to you, my necklace. Everyone should see the girl, who is as beautiful as my necklace, who is as beautiful as the sun. She is the most glorious. Oh, like the silverfish in the water, so beautiful are you, my girl!
E̱bo, e̱bo naria ńe̱a arara͡uga *ne̱an ean e̱dabŭrŭbŭr̄ ō.* *e̱bo, e̱bo narime̱ ĕr̄aṅadaṅ* *iaṅa eănaǫr̄ǫ e̱bo* *eănaǫr̄ǫ e̱bo* *a͡ite̱ṅ e̱bo, a͡ite̱ṅ e̱bo* *ār̄ e̱barabar e̱bo* *e̱bo e̱bo da.*	Äbo, Äbo[2] ist soeben gekommen, von dem Riff ist er gekommen; Äbo, Äbo wachte auf dem Seeboden, Äbo schwimmt auf dem Bauche, Äbo schwimmt auf dem Bauche Äbo schwimmt auf dem Rücken, Äbo schwimmt auf dem Rücken zwei Äbo spielen miteinander der eine Äbo ist stark und der andere schwach.	Ebo, Ebo [2] has just arrived, he came from the reef; Ebo, Ebo watched on the seabed, Ebo swims on his belly, Ebo swims on his belly Ebo swims on its back, Ebo swims on its back two Ebo play together one Ebo is strong and the other weak.

[1] Ein silberglänzender Fisch, der gern von anderen gefressen wird.
[2] Ein kleiner roter Fisch. Äbo ist ein Kosewort für Mädchen. Das Gedicht schildert Liebesgetändel.

[1] A silvery fish that is often eaten by others
[2] A small red fish. Ebo is a term of endearment for girls. The lyric describes romantic flirtations.

So singt und tanzt man stundenlang unermüdlich; Lied wechselt mit Lied. Erst mit Eintritt der Dunkelheit hört der Tanz auf. Alle begeben sich heim. Den jungen Männern ist jetzt der Zutritt zu dem Hause gestattet, in dem das Mädchen und ihre Begleiterinnen schlafen; Scherz und Kurzweil wird getrieben, doch darüber hinaus ist nichts erlaubt.

Vierter Tag. An diesem Tage findet ein feierlicher Umzug durch die Insel statt. Jedermann nimmt daran teil, und für die meisten Eingeborenen bildet er den Höhepunkt der Pubertätsfeier; doch nicht für das Mädchen.

Früh morgens fertigen die Freundinnen ihr einen Stuhl an, auf dem sie nachher um die Insel getragen werden soll. Die alten Sitzunterlagen von den vorhergehenden Tagen werden an einem Pfosten im Hause aufgehängt.

Diese Tragstühle werden nach der Zahl der benötigten Tragstangen benannt.

ḍębanue, hat vier Tragstangen.
ṭęrauādi, hat zwei Tragstangen.
ṭębagarūbęnimedaṅ, hat acht Tragstangen.

Als Tragehölzer dienen lange Speere, *ęrago*, aus Kokosholz.

So they sing and dance tirelessly for hours; song follows song. Only with the onset of darkness does the dancing cease. Everyone goes home. The young men are now permitted entry to the house where the girl and her companions sleep; jest and amusement are indulged, but nothing more is allowed.

Fourth Day.

On this day, a solemn procession takes place through the island. Everyone participates, and for most of the natives, it forms the climax of the puberty celebration; but not for the girl. Early in the morning, her friends make her a chair on which she will later be carried around the island. The old seat cushions from the previous days are hung on a post in the house. These carrying chairs are named according to the number of carrying poles required.

ḍębanue, has four carrying poles.
ṭęrauādi, has two carrying poles.
ṭębagarūbęnimedaṅ, has eight carrying poles.

Abb. 14. Modell eines Tragestuhls, *ḍębagarūbęnimedaṅ*. S. Na. 138.

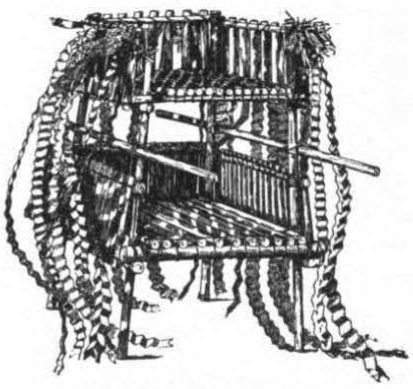


Abb. 15. Modell eines Tragestuhls, *ṭębai*. S. Na. 149.

Long spears, *erago*, made of coconut palm tree wood serve as carrying poles.

[p.226]

Mit großem Halloh und Gejauchze beginnt der Umzug, *ekarara*, durch die Insel. Der Stuhl wird mit Blumen geschmückt und der Sitz mit Matten bedeckt. Darauf setzt sich das temonibe-Mädchen. Kräftige, starke Männer von imposanter Erscheinung, die Stangen mit breiten, schwarzen Streifen bemalt, heben den Stuhl auf. Umgeben von den Dorfgenossen setzt der Zug sich in Bewegung. Von einem Dorf zieht man zum andern; und jedesmal wächst das Gefolge an. Tanz und Gesang, z. T. recht obscöner Lieder bilden die Begleitung.

Überall wo das Mädchen erscheint tritt das *ekuongadip* in sein Recht. Das besteht darin, daß die Anwesenheit des Mädchens alle etwa verhängten Tabus aufhebt und niemand mehr ein Besitz- oder Eigentumsrecht hat. Wo der Tragstuhl erscheint, kann jeder sich aus dem Besitz des anderen das aneignen, was ihm gerade gefällt. Ein begehrter Gegenstand muß hergegeben werden, einerlei was es auch sein mag, ob Nüsse, Schweine, Hühner, Matten, Gebrauchsgegenstände, Schmuck, Geräte, Kanus usw., niemand kann sie dem andern verweigern.

With great shouts of "Hurrah!" and cheers, the procession, *ekarara*, begins through the island. The chair is decorated with flowers and the seat covered with mats. The temonibe-girl sits upon it. Strong, powerful men of imposing stature, their poles painted with broad, black stripes, lift the chair. Surrounded by the villagers, the procession sets off. From one village to another, they move, and each time the entourage grows. Dancing and singing, some of them quite obscene, provide the accompaniment.

Wherever the girl appears, the *ekuongadip* comes into effect. This consists of the fact that the girl's presence lifts all previously imposed taboos, and no one has any right of possession or ownership. Wherever the carrying chair appears, everyone can take whatever they like from another's possessions. A coveted item must be given up, whatever it may be, whether nuts, pigs, chickens, mats, household goods, jewelry, tools, canoes, etc., no one can refuse it to another.

»*Atibiĕt —* *a mẹk itiga* *a mẹk iāt tabārānā dẹbanué,* *a dẹbanúe itiga!*	»Mädchen (Name des Mädchens) bleib oben bleib auf dem Stuhle däbanue im däbanue oben!	Girl (girl's name) stay up there stay on the chair stay up there!
dẹnauror ńai͡ŭn ẹre ẹdutĭn![1] *imogo ẹbuĭn kabońăn mat —* *tabai͡ mai͡gạni taboṅeboṅ ao ī!* *aít ba tẹbau͡; obokẹt tẹbau͡* *obokẹt tẹbau͡ ĭn ŏm īdup!*	Hornhecht spring von der See ans Ufer! Bleib stecken in der Scham der (Name), vögele sie in ihrer Scham, hihi! Blitz und Donner; es rollt der Donner es rollt der Donner vor Deiner Scham!	Garfish, jump from the sea to the shore! Stuck in (name's) vulva, Screw her in her vulva, hee hee! Lightning and thunder; the thunder rolls the thunder rolls before your vulva!
— o! *gīrīm kārā́m ipai͡ iaṅ,* *nimĭn karáuẹ* *eōr̄ẹ iẹṅ* *nimĭn karáuẹ!*	(Name) oho! Zeig, mach weit deine Scham, trink den Palmwein speie in ihn trink den Palmwein!	(Name) Oh! Show, spread your shame, drink the palm wine spit in it drink the palm wine!
— bitaueăn torọni báuŏ; *— torọni báuŏ tamāmuíti; —* *o puẹdu ẹtĕn!*	(Name) deine Scham stinkt wie die Galle des Hai; — Die Galle des Hai stinkt fürchterlich — und alles was herausfließt!	(Name) Your shame stinks like shark bile; Shark bile stinks terribly, and so does everything that comes out of it!
ẹnimo nuẹ meagādā Tarururu, *Tararara eodĭt, eodĭt,* *eóba, eóba,* *eagu, eagu,* *erára kau͡ue,* *inéit maremarẹ!* *ẹ̄, ẹ̄! ńakẹno iẹn!*«	Ich will zu Tarururu gehen, Tarururu suchen, suchen, aufmachen, aufmachen, riechen, riechen, Blumen pflücken, Blüten schütteln! Hä, hä! schau den Kitzler!	I want to go to Tarururu, search for Tarururu, search, open up, open up, smell, smell, pick flowers, shake the blossoms! Ha, ha! Look at the clitoris!

Während solche Lieder abgesungen werden, salbt die Großmutter das Mädchen wiederholt mit wohlriechendem Öl ein; auch muß es häufig den Schurz wechseln.

So zieht man um die Insel; überall wird der Zug mit Freuden begrüßt. Hat man damit jedermann gezeigt, daß eine temonibe̲-Tochter soweit ist, in die Gesellschaft der Erwachsenen aufgenommen zu werden, dann kehren alle nach Hause zurück. Das Mädchen wird bis an ihr Haus gebracht; und danach löst sich die Festgesellschaft auf. Jeder begibt sich heim, schläft aus und rüstet sich für den folgenden Tag.

While such songs are sung, the grandmother repeatedly anoints the girl with fragrant oil; she must also frequently change her apron.

Thus they proceed around the island; everywhere the procession is greeted with joy. Once everyone has been shown that a temonibe̲-daughter is ready to be accepted into the society of adults, then everyone returns home. The girl is taken to her house; and after that, the festive party disperses. Everyone goes home, sleeps, and prepares for the following day.

Fünfter Tag. An diesem Tage wird das Hauptfest des ersten Teils der Pubertätsfeier abgehalten. Es findet die Lochung der Ohrläppchen statt.

Am Morgen erhalten die Mädchen einen neuen, anderen Schurz, *ēbrată*, der ist kurz

[p.228]

und schmal und bedeckt eben ihre Vorder- und Hinterseite. Aus Buada besorgt man sich Ibia-Fische, denn sie bilden den Hauptzierat am Tage. Das temonibe̲-Mädchen erhält folgenden Schmuck.

Es wird gesalbt und bekommt einen Ibia als Zierrat vorn ins Haar, einen anderen nimmt es in den Mund. Drei Fische werden als Epauletten, *eātu*, auf seinen Schultern befestigt, um den Hals schlingt es eine eṅa-Kette, *e̲bara*, an der ein Fisch herabhängt;

Fifth day.

On this day, the main festival of the first part of the puberty celebration is held. The piercing of the earlobes takes place.

In the morning, the girls receive a new, different apron, *ēbrată*, which is short [p.228] and narrow and just covers their front and back. From Buada, *ibia* fish are obtained, as they form the main adornment during the day. The temonibe̲-girl receives the following jewelry.

She is anointed and has an *ibia* placed in her hair as an ornament, and another is placed in her mouth. Three fish are fastened as epaulettes, *eātu*, on her shoulders, and around her neck she wears an *eṅa* necklace, *e̲bara*, from which a fish hangs;

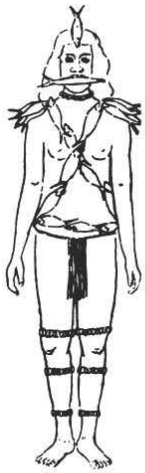


Abb. 16.
Schmuck der temonibẹ-Tochter beim ẹuẹńéi-Tanz (Nach Skizze).

zwei lange schärpenartige Bänder aus Ibia, *ẹrārā*, werden ihm kreuzweis über Schultern und Hüften gelegt: ebenso besteht der Gürtel, *akuarau*, aus Ibia-Fischen. Um Hand- und Fußgelenk trägt es eṅa-Ketten, und ebensolcher Schmuck wird ein wenig ober- und unterhalb der Kniescheibe befestigt (s. Abb. 16). Die übrigen Mädchen legen nur den eben beschriebenen Ibia-Schmuck an.

Dann stellt man sich zum ẹuẹńéi-Tanz auf (s. Abb. 17).

Die Mädchen ordnen sich in zwei Reihen und stellen sich einander gegenüber auf. An der dem Strande zugewendeten Seite stellt sich die temonibẹ-Tochter als teruádu auf, ihm gegenüber ein kleines Mädchen der ameneṅamẹ-Klasse als tebâuruo. Auf der anderen Seite beschließt gleichfalls ein ameneṅamẹ-Mädchen als uọbŏgi die Tanzaufstellung.

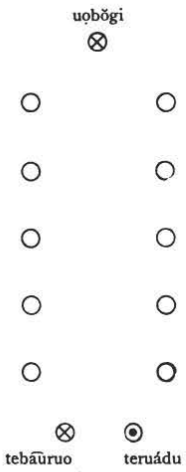
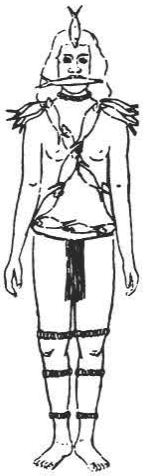


Abb. 17.
Aufstellung zum ẹuẹńéi-Tanz.

Man tanzt und singt im Stehen; mit Armen und Beinen werden dabei zierliche, graziöse Bewegungen ausgeführt. Eine große Anzahl Lieder gehören zu diesem Tanze. Sie werden der Reihe nach abgesungen, zuerst gegen den Strand hin; dann macht man eine Vierteldrehung nach links und wiederholt sämtliche Lieder. Das geschieht noch zweimal, beidemal mit Vierteldrehungen nach links.

Two long, sash-like bands of *ibia*, *ẹrārā*, are placed crosswise over her shoulders and hips: likewise, her belt, *akuarau*, is made of *ibia* fish. Around her wrists and ankles, she wears *eṅa* chains, and similar jewelry is fastened a little above and below the kneecap (see Fig. 16).

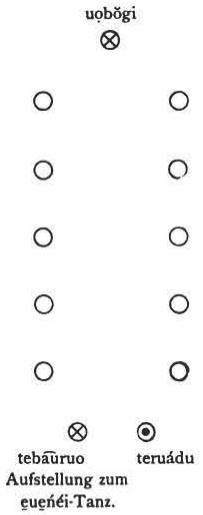


Schmuck der temonibẹ-Tochter beim ẹuẹńéi-Tanz

Adornment of the temonibẹ-daughter during the ẹuẹńéi dance.

The other girls only put on the *ibia* jewelry just described.

Then they line up for the e̲ue̲ńéi dance (see Fig. 17).



Line-up for the e̲ue̲ńéi dance.

The girls arrange themselves in two rows and stand facing each other. On the side facing the beach, the temonib̲e̲-daughter stands as *teruádu*, opposite her a little girl of the *am̲e̲neṅam̲e̲*-class as *tebā̆uruo*, also decides on the dance lineup. On the other side, an *am̲e̲neṅam̲e̲*-girl also decides on the dance lineup as the *temonibe*-daughter's *uóbŏgi*.

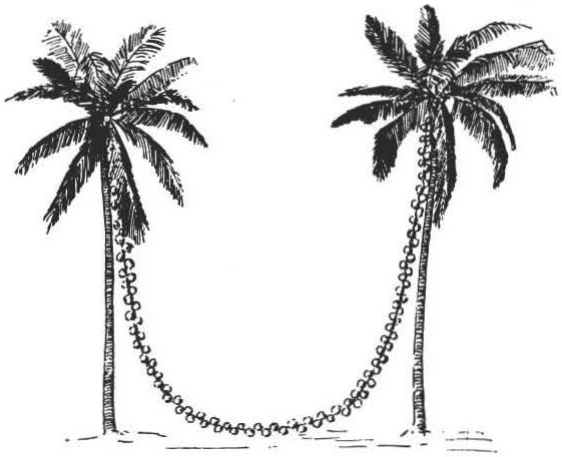
Man tanzt und singt im Stehen; mit Armen
und Beinen werden dabei zierliche, graziöse Bewegungen ausgeführt. Eine große Anzahl Lieder gehören zu diesem Tanze. Sie werden der Reihe nach abgesungen, zuerst gegen den Strand hin; dann macht man eine Vierteldrehung nach links und wiederholt sämtliche Lieder. Das geschieht noch zweimal, beidemal mit Vierteldrehungen nach links.

One dances and sings while standing; graceful, elegant movements are made with arms and legs. A large number of songs belong to this dance. They are sung in sequence, first facing the beach; then one makes a quarter turn to the left and repeats all the songs. This is done twice more, both times with quarter turns to the left.

»*E̱ue̱eṅéi áuọ* *nua͡uuéi tārāp eára͡u,* *bue̱ namō muija͡uuĕn arĭn,* *māχō koka͡io uĕniṅā!* *e̱ue̱eṅéi áuọ* *eoa͡ini, eoa͡ina,* *bánama eopāna,* *aníuĭn ué̱re ńamuĕná ana͡utā́eo* *ńaga, ńaga.*	»Wir ziehen um die Insel und singen, wir gehen zum Tanze, denn jeder soll kommen und zuschauen; wir wollen zum Tanzplatz gehen, kommt her! wir ziehen um die Insel und singen wir jauchzen hier, wir jauchzen dort wir können uns vor Freude nicht fassen, legt uns den Schmuck um unsere Glieder, langsam, langsam.	We wander around the island and sing, we go to the dance, for everyone should come and watch; we want to go to the dance floor, come here! we wander around the island and sing we shout for joy here, we shout for joy there we can't contain ourselves with joy, put the jewelry on our limbs, slowly, slowly
[p.229] *me̱ akuăn aniuĭn ue̱re* *buĭnama méiu.* *ataránŏ e̱nebō̤na re̱nuara͡uar aróuróu,*	Und wir haben viel mit unserem Schmuck zu tun, damit wir ein wenig weiter kommen. Wir stehen auf einem Bein, wir Mädchen alle am Strande,	[p.229] And we have a lot to do with our jewelry so we can get a little further. We're standing on one leg, we girls, all on the beach,
e̱nebō̤na renuara͡uar aróuróu ō! *eomane̱ne̱, eomane̱ne̱ māenáō,* *an ue̱maṅemaṅ ma anuemār̄ ō.*	wir Mädchen alle am Strande oho! Reiche Leute, reiche Leute, einige unter Euch, Blätterfransen, Haizähne,	We girls all on the beach, oh! Rich people, rich people, some among you, leaf fringes, shark teeth,
ara͡u ie̱dua ńano bue̱n *ea muaneṅ muaneṅ an idup' ō!«*	bringt alles in's Haus des Mädchens, doch niemand berühre, berühre ihre Scham oho!«	Bring everything into the girl's house, but no one touch, touch her shame, oh!

Die Zuschauer beim Tanze bringen Kokosnüsse mit. Nachher, wenn die Lieder zu Ende gesungen sind und sich die Mädchen nach Hause begeben haben, bindet man diese Nüsse zu einer langen Kette, *e̱ke̱me̱dritiĭṅ*, zusammen und befestigt die Enden an den Fruchtständen zweier Palmen, so daß sie von dem Wipfel der einen zum Erdboden herabgleitet, am Boden entlang läuft und zum Wipfel der anderen Palme emporsteigt (s. Abb. 18).

The spectators at the dance bring coconuts. Afterwards, when the songs have finished and the girls have gone home, these coconuts are tied together in a long chain, *e̱ke̱me̱dritiĭṅ*, and the ends are attached to the fruit fronds of two palm trees, so that it slides down from the top of one to the ground, runs along the ground and rises to the top of the other palm tree.



Die Kokosnußkette *ẹkẹmẹdritiïn.*
The Coconut Necklace ekemedritiïn

Jetzt trifft man weitere Vorbereitungen zur wichtigsten Zeremonie der Pubertätsfeier, zum Ohrläppchendurchstich.

In einem gewissen Abstand von den Palmen mit den Nußketten stellt man zwei Kanus mit den Längsseiten ihnen gegenüber und ordnet in dem Zwischenraum eine Anzahl Kokosnüsse in drei Reihen an, die den Festplatz begrenzen (s. Abb. 19).

Now further preparations are being made for the most important ceremony of the puberty celebration with the earlobe piercing.

At a certain distance from the palm trees with the nut garlands, two canoes are placed facing them lengthwise, and in the space between them, a number of coconuts are arranged in three rows, defining the festival area.

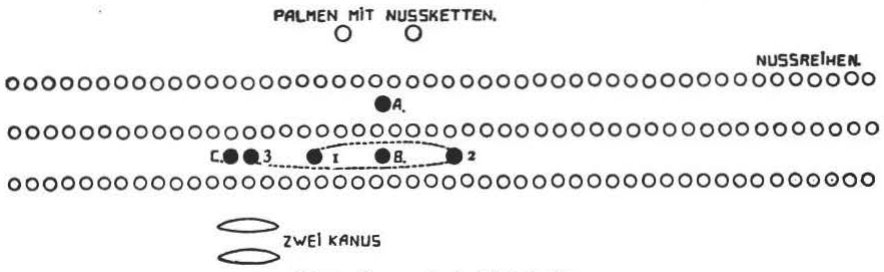


Abb. 19. Zeremonie des Ohrlochstichs.
a, b Speermänner, c Ohrlochstecher, 1, 2, 3 Stellungen des temonibẹ-Mädchens.

Ceremony of the ear piercing.
a, b Spearmen, c Ear-piercers, 1, 2, 3 Positions of the temonibe-girl.

[p.230]

Die Mädchen wechseln den Schmuck. Das temonibẹ-Mädchen trägt jetzt eine eṅa-Kette im Haar und ein Band aus dem gleichen Material, *ẹóebi*, um den Hals.

The girls change their jewelry. The temonibẹ-girl now wears an *eṅa* necklace in her hair and a band of the same material, *ẹóebi*, around her neck.

An ihm sind eine große weiße Ovumovulum-Schnecke, *ekọ̄*, und eine schwarze Feder vom Fregattvogel als Anhänger, *euẹtogógo*, befestigt. Der Schamschurz wird von einem kleinen Fasernbüschel, *iṅuṅ*, gebildet, der mit eṅa-Scheiben eingefaßt ist. Mit einem Gürtel, *ikibŭr̄*, wird er am Körper festgehalten. Dieser Gürtel besteht aus einzelnen, länglichen Segmenten der zerschlagenen, roten Pektenmuschel. Jedes Segment ist oben am schmäleren Ende durchbohrt und an die härene Tragschnur gebunden. Ein Haizahn, und eine darüber angebrachte Fregattvogelfeder und *eṅa*-Scheibe bildet den Abschluß der Befestigung an jedem Pektensegment. An der rechten Hüfte hängt ein langer breiter Haarbüschel, *itubuitāra*, herab. Das Gesicht ist bemalt. Mit einer schwarzen Paste aus Kokosöl und Kohle wird quer über der Stirn ein Strich, *iditẹumẹ̄n*, und schräg über beide Wangen ebensolch ein Strich, *tiẹru*, gezogen (s. Abb. 20).

Abb. 20. Schmuck des temonibẹ-Mädchens bei der Zeremonie des Ohrlochstichs (Nach Skizze).

Abb. 21. Tracht der Speermänner bei der Zeremonie des Ohrlochstichs (Nach Skizze).

Beim Beginn der Zeremonie betreten zwei Männer, die Speermänner den Festplatz. Sie sind mit einer schön geflochtenen Tanzmatte, *itiuo*, bekleidet, die mit einer Gürtelschnur zusammengehalten wird. Um den Hals und kreuzweis über Schultern und Lenden geschlungen tragen sie Bänder aus gefalteten jungen Palmblattfiedern. Auch ihr Gesicht ist bemalt. Über den Augen haben sie einen breiten schwarzen Streifen, *kẹāi*, und um Ober- und Unterlippe herum zwei schmale schwarze Striche, *mẹkẹabōbō*,

[p.231]

die sich nachher auf den Wangen vereinigen. In der linken Hand führt jeder einen langen Kampfspeer, *ẹrago* (s. Abb. 21).

Attached to it are a large white ovumovulum [egg cowrie, *Ovum ovulum*] shell, *ekọ̄*, and a black frigatebird feather, *euẹtogọ́go*, as a pendant. The grass-apron is formed by a small tuft of fibers, *iṅuṅ*, edged with *eṅa* discs. It is held to the body by a belt, *ikibŭr̄*. This belt consists of individual, elongated segments of shattered red pecten shell. Each segment is pierced at the narrower end and tied to the hairy carrying cord. A shark tooth, and a frigatebird feather and *eṅa* disc placed above it, complete the attachment to each pecten segment. A long, wide tuft of hair, *itubuitāra*, hangs down from the right hip. The face is painted. A black paste made from coconut oil and charcoal is used to draw a line across the forehead, *iditẹumẹ̄n*, and a similar line diagonally across both cheeks, *tiẹru*.

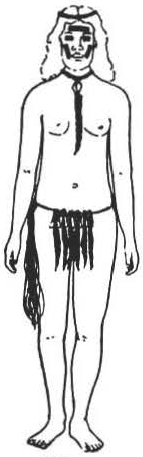


Abb. 20.
Schmuck des
temonibe-Mädchens
bei der Zeremonie
des Ohrlochstichs
Adornment of the temonibe-girl
for the ear-piercing ceremony

At the start of the ceremony, two men, the spearmen, enter the festival grounds. They are dressed in a beautifully woven dance mat, *itíuo*, held together with a belt cord. Around their necks and crossed over their shoulders and loins, they wear bands of folded young palm leaf fronds. Their faces are also painted. Above their eyes they have a broad black stripe, *ke̲āi*, and around their upper and lower lips two narrow black lines, *me̲ke̲abōbō*, which later merge on their cheeks. In their left hand, each carries a long battle spear, *e̲rago*.

Abb. 21.
Tracht der Speer-
männer bei der Zere-
monie des Ohrlochstichs
Costume of the spearmen
for the ear-piercing ceremony

The spearmen position themselves facing each other to the left and right of the middle row of nuts. Then the temonibe-daughter appears and stands next to a spearmen.

Die Speermänner stellen sich einander gegenüber links und rechts der mittleren Nußreihe auf. Dann erscheint die temonibe̲-Tochter und stellt sich neben einen Speermann. Die beiden Krieger kreuzen ihre Waffen über dem Kopfe des Mädchens, fassen mit den Speeren hinter seinen Rücken und geben ihr dann einen leichten Schwung, so daß es auf einen anderen Platz (2 u. 3 der Abb. 19) gestoßen wird.

The spearmen position themselves facing each other to the left and right of the middle row of nuts. Then the temonibe̲-daughter appears and stands next to a spearmen. The two warriors cross their weapons above the girl's head, grasp her behind her back with their spears, and then give her a gentle push, so that she is pushed to another spot (2 and 3 of Fig. 19).

Dann treten die beiden Speermänner ab, und es erscheint der Ohrlochstecher. Er ist mit einem Festschurz bekleidet und trägt ein *eṅa*-Halsband. Sein Gesicht ist nur mit den Ober- und Unterlippenstreifen bemalt. Am rechten Handgelenk hat er ein *eṅa*-Armband, das mit einer schwarzen Fregattvogelfeder verziert ist. In der Hand hält er das Operationsinstrument, *itúi*, einen schwarz-weiß geringelten Stab, der an der Spitze mit einem Haizahn versehen ist.

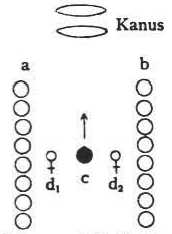
Then the two spearmen step aside, and the ear-piercer appears.He is dressed in a ceremonial apron and wears an *eṅa* collar. His face is painted only with the upper and lower lip stripes. On his right wrist, he has an *eṅa* bracelet decorated with a black frigate bird feather. In his hand, he holds the surgical instrument, *itúi*, a black and white striped rod tipped with a shark's tooth.

Er stellt sich vor das Mädchen hin, nimmt eine junge, sehr kleine Kokosnuß, legt sie hinter das Ohrläppchen des Mädchens und durchbohrt es mit dem Zahn. Im selben Augenblicke eilen alle Zuschauer auf das Mädchen los und spritzen mit dem Munde über sie Wasser, damit das Blut abgewaschen wird.

He stands in front of the girl, takes a young, very small coconut, places it behind the girl's earlobe, and pierces it with the tooth. At the same moment, all the onlookers rush towards the girl and splash water over her with their mouths to wash away the blood.

Die Ohrlöcher gelten jetzt für alle als äußeres Zeichen der Frauenreife des Mädchens.

Ein Scheinkampf *ẹkẹan ẹrago* der waffenfähign Jugend beschließt die Zeremonie der Ohrlochung. Auf dem Tanzplatz stellen sich die Krieger in zwei Reihen auf. Jeder trägt einen Speer und nimmt Kampfstellung ein, so daß sie jeden Augenblick aufeinander losschlagen können. Da tritt das temonibẹ-Mädchen zwischen ihre Reihen, geht einmal langsamen Schritts zum Strande, kehrt um und begibt sich zu den Nußketten zurück. Zwei alte Frauen, *ẹnẹmuẹnẹtẹn*, treten nun zwischen die Kämpfer; sie reden zum Frieden, doch haben sie damit keinen Erfolg. (Abb. 22). Die Krieger schlagen los und setzen das Kampfspiel eine ganze Weile fort, bei dem es häufig genug Wunden setzte.



Palmen mit Nußketten

Abb. 22
Aufstellung zum Scheinkampf *ẹkẹ an ẹrago* bei der Zeremonie der Ohrlochung.
a, b Reihen der Kämpfer
c das temonibẹ-Mädchen
d_1, d_2 zwei alte Frauen.

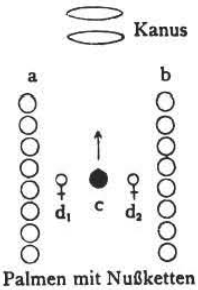
Das Mädchen legt dann ihre Zeremonialkleidung und Schmuck ab. Sie bindet jetzt den sorgfältig gearbeiteten Festschurz für Frauen um, *inānitib* oder *ẹkẹdabānin*, und erscheint damit auf dem Platze, wo sie in Gesellschaft der übrigen den Tag hinbringt.

Die Kanus und Kokosnüsse dürfen fortgenommen werden: wer sie haben will, nimmt sie.

Sechster Tag. Der letzte Tag der ersten Festperiode ist angebrochen. Das Mädchen wurde völlig in die Gesellschaft der Erwachsenen aufgenommen und sammelt nun die Einrichtung ihres Haushalts für die am nächsten Tage zu beziehenden Häuser zusammen.

Ear piercings are now considered by everyone to be an outward sign of a girl's womanhood.

A mock battle—*ẹkẹan ẹrago* of armed youth—concludes the ear-piercing ceremony. On the dance floor, the warriors line up in two rows. Each carries a spear and assumes a fighting stance, ready to attack at any moment. Then the temonibẹ-girl steps between their rows, walks slowly to the shore, turns around, and returns to the nut necklaces. Two old women, *ẹnẹmuẹnẹtẹn*, now step between the combatants; they speak for peace, but to no avail (Fig. 22). The warriors begin fighting and continue the combat for quite some time, frequently inflicting wounds.



Palmen mit Nußketten

Abb. 22
Aufstellung zum Scheinkampf *ẹkẹ an ẹrago* bei der Zeremonie der Ohrlochung.
a, b Reihen der Kämpfer
c das temonibẹ-Mädchen
d_1, d_2 zwei alte Frauen.

Palm trees with nut chains
Formation for mock combat during the ear-piercing ceremony.
a, b Rows of fighters
c the temonibe girl
d1 d2 two old women.

The girl then removes her ceremonial clothing and jewelry. She now ties on the carefully crafted festive apron for women, *inānitīb* or *ekedabānin*, and appears in it in the square where she spends the day in the company of the others.

The canoes and coconuts may be taken: whoever wants them, takes them.

Sixth day.

The last day of the first period has dawned. The girl has been fully integrated into adult society and is now gathering her household furnishings for the houses she will move into in the next days.

Die Sonne steht schon hoch am Himmel, wenn sich bei dem Mädchen eine Anzahl Frauen einfinden, um mit ihm seine Wünsche zu bereden und ihm für die begehrten

[p.232]

Gegenstände die besten Quellen anzugeben. Am Nachmittag zieht es dann in der Begleitung ihrer Gespielinnen in den Dörfern umher und erbittet sich in den Häusern die Sachen. Niemand wird und darf ihm einen Wunsch abschlagen.

So gehen sie z. B. zum Haus des Teāno[1] und rufen laut: Teāno. Sobald der Gerufene erscheint, singen alle:

The sun is already high in the sky when a number of women gather around the girl to discuss her wishes with her and to give her the best sources for the desired items. In the afternoon, accompanied by her companions, she goes around to the villages and asks for the things in the houses. No one will or may refuse her a request.

For example, they go to the house of *Teāno* and call out loudly: *Teāno* . As soon as the one called appears, they all sing:

»*Amanǻ kádāð kádāð* *iaṅ bagarā́ ṅai͡n Emaneār̄!* *aga Epumiup'* *e̱ko buitige̱n rare̱one Te̱ano* *a͡uidiĕn tǻban mi ijéituā* *me̱ a͡uidiĕn taban ma ijéituai͡* *ekuǫ eǫ̆n!*«	»Wir kommen zu dir soeben, soeben, in dein Haus, du Sohn der Emanear![2] ich bin Epumiup ich komme in dein Haus Teano ich will dich um etwas bitten und die anderen wollen dich um etwas bitten, um ein Kanu.«[3]	We're coming to you right now, right now, into your house, son of the Emanear! I am Epumiup I'm coming to your house, Teano I want to ask you for something and the others want to ask you for something a canoe

[1] Die ..... gekennzeichneten Namen und Ausdrücke sind willkürlich gewählt.
[2] Name eines Dolomitpfeilers in Anibari, eine versteinerte Frau.
[3] oder sonst irgend einen begehrten Gegenstand.
[4] Bluthäuser.

1 The names and expressions marked .... were chosen by me.
2 Name of a dolomite pillar in Anibari, a petrified woman.

[Possible pilllar]
3 or any other desired object.
4 Blood houses.

Mit dieser Sammelreise schließt die erste Festperiode ab. Das Mädchen zieht sich aus dem Alttagsleben zurück und begibt sich zum ersten Male in Klausur, die zehn Tage anhält. Im Busche werden ihr dazu von der gesamten Gefolgschaft ihres Vaters zwei Häuser, *e oāk ĭn ĕ̱r̄a*,[4] errichtet; eins davon dient zum Wohnen, das andere zur Aufbewahrung von Matten, Nahrungsmitteln, Brennmaterial usw. Beide Häuser haben innen einen wenig erhöhten Fußboden.

With this collecting trip, the first festival period comes to an end. The girl withdraws from everyday life and enters into seclusion for the first time, which lasts ten days. In the bush, two houses are built for her by her father's entire retinue, *e oāk ĭn ĕ̱r̄a*; one of them serves as a dwelling, the other for storing mats, food, fuel, etc. Both houses have a slightly raised floor inside.

Die Großmutter (mütterlicherseits) und ein anderes Mädchen, das Magddienste verrichtet, begleiten die temonibe̱-Tochter, sonst niemand. Sie darf das Haus nicht verlassen, denn sie würde sonst krank, ihre Haut häßlich und runzlich werden und das Blut stets laufen. Kein Mann darf die Häuser betreten oder in ihre Nähe kommen, nur ein Diener, welcher das Essen bringt, macht darin eine Ausnahme.

Dies Essen besteht aus Trinknüssen und jungen Nüssen, *ini*; Palmwein, *kara͡uue*; Pandanusdauerspeise, *e̱taṅo*; gekochter Pandanus, *e̱pǫ*; roher Pandanus, *kare̱ba*, und einigen Gemüsearten. Als Fleischnahrung darf sie nur den Tintenfisch, *dagiga*, und kleine, höchstens fingerlange Fischchen, wie z. B. den *e̱āterăm* und den roten *e̱garāko* genießen.

The maternal grandmother and another young girl accompany the temonibe̲-daughter; no one else. She is not allowed to leave the house, for otherwise she would become ill, her skin would become ugly and wrinkled, and her blood would constantly flow. No man is allowed to enter the houses or come near her, except for a servant who brings food.

This food consists of drinking nuts and young nuts, *ini*; palm wine, *kara͡uue*; pandanus staple food, *e̲taṅo*; cooked pandanus, *e̲poǫ*; raw pandanus, *kare̲ba*; and some vegetables. For meat, she is only allowed to eat squid, *dagiga*, and small fish, no longer than a finger, such as the *e̲ā̆terăm* and the red *e̲garāko*.

Die zweite Abteilung, *e̲kadaro*.

Nach Ablauf der zehntägigen Klausurzeit ist das Mädchen frei und darf seinen eigenen Neigungen unbeeinflußt nachgehen. Im Hinblick auf den noch ausstehenden Schluß der Pubertätsfeier trifft die Verwandtschaft eine ganze Reihe Vorbereitungen; vor allem stellt man eine große Anzahl prächtiger und geringer Matten aus Pandanusblättern und Kokosfiedern her. Rückt dann die Zeit heran, wo die temonibe̲-Tochter das Bluthaus zum zehnten Male verläßt, so beginnt eine eifrige rege Arbeits-

[p.233]

tätigkeit. Alle Dorfgenossen helfen mit, vor allem baut man ein Gehöft von fünf bis sechs Häusern, unter denen eins recht geräumig sein muß, da es in Kürze die gesamte weibliche Bewohnerschaft des Gaus beherbergen soll.

Um dies Gehöft, *e̲ óabar*, auch nach außen hin als etwas besonderes zu kennzeichnen, wird es mit einem Zaun, *e̲oáarōr̄*, aus Stöcken eingefriedigt, der außerdem noch mit Matten verkleidet wird.

The second section, *e̲kadaro*.

After the ten-day confinement period, the girl is free and may pursue her own inclinations without interference. In anticipation of the still-pending conclusion of the puberty celebration, the family makes a whole series of preparations; above all, a large number of magnificent and simple mats are made from pandanus leaves and coconut fibers. When the time approaches when the temonibe̲-daughter leaves the blood house for the tenth time, a flurry of activity begins. [p.233] All the villagers

help, especially by building a homestead of five to six houses, one of which must be quite spacious, as it will soon house the entire female population of the district.

In order to mark this homestead, *e̲ óabar*, as something special to the outside world, it is enclosed with a fence, *e̲oáarōr̄*, made of sticks, which is also covered with mats.

Dies Gehöft bezieht das temonibe̲-Mädchen für eine Klausurzeit von fünfundzwanzig Tagen, nachdem es zum zehnten Male das Bluthaus verlassen hat. Es hat sich hier für die Schlußfeier seiner Pubertät vorzubereiten und wird von den Sippengenossinnen in ihren künftigen Aufgaben als temonibe̲-Frau in der ars amandi et vivendi, in den Traditionen der Sippe, ärztlichen, zauberischen Künsten usw. unterwiesen. Außerdem haben die übrigen reifen Frauen und Mädchen des Gaus ihm Gesellschaft zu leisten. Sie leben während dieser Zeit gleichfalls im *e̲ oáabar* in Klausur.

This homestead is occupied by the temonibe girl for a period of twenty-five days of seclusion after she has left the Blood House for the tenth time. Here she is to prepare for the culmination ceremony of her puberty and is instructed by her fellow clan members in her future duties as a temonibe̲-

woman in the art of love and living, in the traditions of the clan, medical and magical arts, etc. Furthermore, the other mature women and girls of the district are to keep her company. They also live in seclusion in the *e̲ oáabar* during this time.

Für Männer ist das Gehöft tabu; ein Betreten des *e̲ oáabar* würde für den Betroffenen den Verlust seines gesamten Eigentums zur Folge haben. Die Männer haben für Speise und Trank zu sorgen; täglich setzen sie das von ihnen zubereitete Essen an den Eingangstüren zum Gehöfte hin. Hier holen es sich die Frauen ab, denn niemand darf von ihnen das Tabugelände verlassen. Irgendwelche Speiseverbote gibt es während der Zeit nicht.

Die Frauen und Mädchen haben in der Klausur eine besondere Tracht. Über die Schultern schlagen sie eine Mantilla aus jungen Kokosblattfiedern, *e̲réi*, die bei Sonnenschein obendrein noch mit einer Matte bedeckt wird. Die Mütter legen den gewöhnlichen Kleidschurz an; Mädchen und kinderlose Frauen binden zwei Schurze, *ite̲*, um, den einen vorn, den anderen hinten, und beide berühren sich auf den Hüften.

Die Klausurgenossinnen bereiten sich in den fünfundzwanzig Tagen ebenfalls auf das kommende Fest vor. Sie reiben täglich den Körper mit frischem Kokosöl ein, fertigen Schmuck und Tanzkleider an und üben die Tanzgesänge ein.

The homestead is taboo for men; entering the *e̲ oáabar* would result in the loss of all property for the person concerned. The men are responsible for providing food and drink; daily they place the food they have prepared at the entrance gates to the homestead. The women collect it there, as none of them are allowed to leave the taboo area. There are no dietary restrictions during this time.

The women and girls wear special clothing in the enclosure. They drape a mantilla made of young coconut leaf fronds over their shoulders, *e̲réi*, which is further covered with a mat when the sun is shining. The mothers put on their usual apron; girls and childless women tie two aprons, *ite̲*, one in front and the other in back, with both touching at the hips.

The women in the enclosure also prepare for the coming festival during the twenty-five days. They rub their bodies with fresh coconut oil daily, make jewelry and dance dresses, and practice the dance songs.

Erster Tag. Mit dem dritten Hahnenschrei am 25. Tage versammeln sich alle Frauen und Mädchen vor dem großen Hause im Gehöfte. Sie haben die Blattmantille *ęréi* angelegt und singen;

First day.

At the third cockcrow on the 25th day, all the women and girls gather in front of the large house in the homestead. They have put on their leaf mantillas *ęréi* and sing;

»*Eořādětá, eořādětá ō!* *uoritęniaṅ! uoritęnę!* *aṅa eo rę̄t iaṅ muęamuę;* *ŏm eaṅ mǫ̆ ŏm gokiaṅ;* *nimŏm ibǫ̆k* *uę māřo uǫ kǫkǫř.* *eādá eādá!* *oṅa͡ina maṅa͡ina nuęa͡ū ō!*	›Eoradeta, Eoradeta,[1] oho! wach auf! wach auf! ich schlief nicht besonders in der Nacht; du schreist und winselst; hol Wasser und trinke, denn du hast Durst. Komm her, komm hervor! Der Tag bricht an und der Morgen tagt, [1] Kosenamen für Mädchen. Es ist der Name eines kleinen blau, rot und gelb gefleckten Wandervogels mit langem ebenso gesprenkeltem Schwanze. Er erscheint mit dem Eintreten des Südwestmonsuns.	Eoradeta, Eoradeta [1], oh! Wake up! Wake up! I didn't sleep very well last night; you're crying and whimpering; fetch water and drink, for you are thirsty. Come here, come out! The day is breaking and the morning is dawning [1 A nickname for girls. It is the [name of a small, blue, red, and [yellow speckled migratory bird [with a long, similarly speckled tail. [It appears with the onset of the [southwest monsoon. [PS This is probably the long-tailed cuckoo (*Eudynamys taitensis*)- see Buden 2008]
[p.234] *mārka͡ijubabo.* *mamārtęmęmę apuiuō* *ābārār aroṅǒk marpudu ‘nă* *ijóua͡iuo͡i ōkōă ębętōn,* *ijóua͡iuo͡i ōkōă ębęton!*«	mach dir den Mund sauber. Hör laß uns nach dem Süden ziehen, als ein Paar dort zusammenkommen und tändeln wie die Schmetterlinge, tändeln wie die Schmetterlinge!‹	Clean your mouth. Listen, let's go south, as a couple we'll meet there and frolic like butterflies, frolic like butterflies!

Sobald der Gesang erschallt, legen auch die Männer ihr Festgewand an und versammeln sich in Gruppen. Um den Kopf binden sie eine Binde aus jungen Kokosfiedern, *eobuidĭn;* um Hals, Arm- und Fußgelenk doppelte Bänder aus demselben Material (s. Abb. 23). Die verheirateten Männer, deren Frauen im Klausurgehöft sind, legen derweil ihre Namen ab und nennen sich alle *ędarakui;*[1] die übrigen behalten ihre Namen.

[1] *ędarakui* ist eine kleine Schwalbe (?) mit schwarzem Gefieder und weißer Brust. Sie ruft *taribago, taribago!* Wenn sie schreit, müssen Frauen und Mädchen menstruieren.

As soon as the singing begins, the men also put on their festive attire and gather in groups. Around their heads they tie a headband of young coconut fronds, *eobuidĭn*; around their necks, wrists and ankles double bands of the same material (see Fig. 23).

Abb. 23.
Tracht der Männer
beim Wechselgesang

Man's attire for alternate singing.

The married men, whose wives are in the cloistered homestead, meanwhile relinquish their names and all call themselves *ẹdarakui* [1]; the others retain their names.

1 *ẹdarakui* is a small swallow(?) with swan-like plumage and a white breast. It calls out *taribago, taribago!* When it calls, women and girls must menstruate. [PS this is in fact the name recorded for Audubon's shearwater (*Puffinus lherminieri*) – see Buden 2008.]

Die Männer ziehen vor den Eingang des *ẹoāabar* und rufen den Namen der temonibẹ-Tochter, die Insassinnen antworteten: »Oho!« und es entspinnt sich ein Wechselgesang.

The men approach the entrance of the *ẹoāabar* and call out the name of the temonibẹ-daughter, the inmates replied: "Oho!" and a reciprocal chant ensues.

»*uogẹ̄n oā uái tiŭk ōk?*« »*āugẹn!*« »*Inañit dẹrakúi,* *inañit dẹrakúi ō!* *ŏmuerí ŏmuerǎ atarẹẹr̄,* *bui eokuabābā ñẹa orarōga,* *apui iŭ orr̄n baîbaî tada!*«	Die Männer: »Seid ihr fertig oder nicht?« Die Insassinnen: »Wir sind fertig!« Die Männer: »Es ruft die Möve, es ruft die Möve, oho! Wacht auf! Wacht auf! Macht die Augen auf, denn der Morgen tagt und die Sonne geht auf, sie steigt empor über den Horizont!«	The men: "Are you ready or not?" The inmates: "We're ready!" The men: "The seagull is calling, the seagull is calling, oh! Wake up! Wake up! Open your eyes, for the morning is dawning and the sun rises, it climbs above the horizon!"

Die Männer machen sich nun über die Häuser und Zäune her, reißen sie ein, zerstören und vernichten sie. Die Klausur der Insassinnen ist beendet; sie sind befreit und begeben sich in ihre Behausungen, um sich für den Tanz vorzubereiten und zu schmücken.

The men now turn on the houses and fences, tearing them down, destroying and annihilating them. The women's confinement is over; they are freed and return to their dwellings to prepare and adorn themselves for the dance.

Den prächtigsten Schmuck trägt die temonibe̲-Tochter. Auf dem gescheitelten Haar trägt sie eine große, rote Pektenmuschel, *e̲ke̲be̲re̲be̲r̄*, um den Hals eine mehrreihige Kette aus roten *eṅa*-Perlen, *e̲re̲buijibue̲*, und über den Schultern einen aus Pandanusblattstreifen geflochtenen schmalen Kragen, *ke̲atu*, der mit schwarzer-weißer Hibiskusbastborte eingefaßt ist, die mit kleinen runden *eṅa*-Scheiben benäht wurde. Über Brust und Rücken legt sie zwei sich kreuzende Bänder, *e̲rara*, die ebenso wie der Schulterkragen angefertigt sind. Unterhalb des Nabels bindet sie eine kleine, am

[p.235]

Abb. 23.
Tracht der Männer
beim Wechselgesang
(Nach Skizze).

oberen Rand mit *eṅa* verzierte Matte, *tagádibĭn*, um, und vor die Scham eine große Matte, *e̲bă̆ta;* beide sind mit dem Sippenwappen versehen. Die Armbänder bestehen aus dünnen schwarz-weißen Schnüren, *réie̲bape̲*, die mit Muscheln, Haizähnen und Federn besetzt sind. Oberhalb der Knie und um die Fußgelenke trägt sie rote *eṅa*-Ketten, *réije̲tane*, und auf den Schienbeinen bindet sie mit geflochtenen Haarschnüren schmale zugespitzte Perlmuttermuschelabschnitte, *e̲ko*, auf einer Unterlage von Kokosblättern fest. Das Gesicht wird bemalt; und zwar über den Augenbrauen zwei geschwungene Linien, *idite̲n*, und auf jeder Wange ein schwarzer Punkt, *idiaru*. (S. Abb. 24.)

Die anderen Frauen und Mädchen legen geringeren Schmuck an. Zum Tanze stellt man sich in derselben Weise wie beim oben beschriebenen *e̲uaṅéi*-Tanze auf. Auch hier werden viele Lieder der Reihe nach abgesungen; man beginnt stets mit dem ›Ausmarsch‹, *ijure̲* oder *iriaṅ ĭn o͡iabar;*[1] dann folgen die ›lustigen Lieder‹, *ikidāta*.

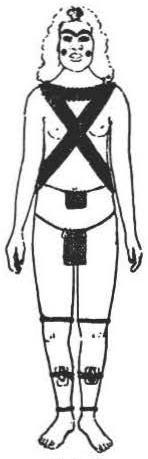


Abb. 24
Festkleidung der
temonibe̲-Tochter
beim ijüre̲-Tanz
(Nach Skizze).

The most magnificent jewelry is worn by the temonibe̲-daughter. On her parted hair, she wears a large, red pectin shell, *e̲ke̲be̲re̲be̲r̄*; around her neck, a multi-strand necklace of red *eṅa* beads, *e̲re̲buijibue̲*; and over her shoulders, a narrow collar, *ke̲atu*, woven from strips of pandanus leaves and edged with black and white hibiscus bast braid sewn with small, round *eṅa* discs. Across her chest and back, she wears two intersecting bands, *e̲rara*, made in the same style as the shoulder collar. Below her navel, she ties a small [p.235] mat, *tagádibĭn*, and a large mat in front of her pubic area, *e̲bă̆ta*; both are adorned with the clan crest. The bracelets consist of thin black and white cords, *réie̲bape̲*, adorned with shells, shark teeth, and feathers. Above the knees and around the ankles, she wears red *eṅa* necklaces, *réije̲tane*, and on her shins, she ties narrow, pointed sections of mother-of-pearl shell, *e̲ko*, to a base of coconut leaves with braided hair cords. Her face is painted; specifically, two curved lines, *idite̲n*, above the eyebrows, and a black dot, *idiaru*, on each cheek. (See Fig. 24.)

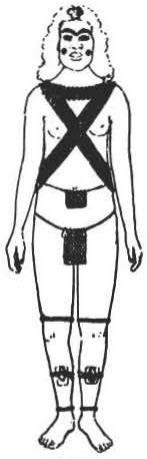


Abb. 24
Festkleidung der
temonibę-Tochter
beim ijūrę-Tanz

Feast dress of the temonibe-daughter for *ijūrę* Dance

The other women and girls wear less jewelry. For the dance, they line up in the same way as for the *ęuańéi* dance described above. Here, too, many songs are sung in succession; one always begins with the processional march, *ijurę* or *iriań ĭn o͡iabar*; then the merriment songs follow, *ikidāta*.

iriań ĭn o͡iabar. *Amarara ŏm aka͡iẹ* *amarara ŏm aka͡iẹ* *inăm mẹ tẹmái* *amarara ŏm aka͡iẹ!* *ia͡uo͡ia pẹ eań bŭẹań* *bua o͡ariup ąnebẹn āmarāk* *eńa͡iiti ŕarẹ?* *gemea͡u gemea͡u* *bua ramăn atẹnāo* *eōijẹ piań atẹnāo* *eōijẹ piań atẹnāo* *ŏmui ijẹań bomuẹ i* *ẹtarĕn ibueăm ukúku* *ameąń ameąń amegẹeūp'* *āue Amaragẹ ina uanańagẹ?* *mīna uarara͡uga?* [p.236] *okuẹabābā atẹrĕn* *ćijāmō ńa͡uuẹ amarāk* *amitī áue ma͡ia áueop'* *uat eńame áia áueop'* *pua͡ijiōnuō* *mūiẹnẹ bẹm ńōẹnẹ bẹ̄m!*	Klausurlied. Lebt wohl, lebt wohl, lebt wohl, lebt wohl Mutter und Vater lebt wohl, lebt wohl! alle Verwandten weinen, wir gehen in ein anderes Land Was wird mir da begegnen? Sei nicht bange, sei nicht bange, denn was sollen du und ich nun tun, ? ? ? ? dein Schmuck an den Beinen, viele Leute sind in deinem Hause, mach schnell sie rufen, sie schreien, sie bitten dich, wir bitten dich Amarage, wo willst du hin wo sollst du hin. Weitere Übersetzung nicht gelungen.	Enclosure song Farewell, farewell, Farewell, farewell Mother and father Farewell, farewell! All relatives are crying, We are going to another country What will I encounter there? Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, for what shall you and I do now, ? ? ? ? your jewelry on your legs, many people are in your house, hurry they call, they shout, they beg you, we beg you, Amarage, where do you want to go? where should you go? Further translation failed.

ikidāta. *Apuijup ō ma pe̱óa ō!* *amai͡ eo aṅoṅo naga* *amai͡ eo aṅoṅo naga* *bua aṅa e̱numuĭn ie̱n oae̱* *ataródu barodu ō!* *yibuĕn áuira e̱de̱daijoṅo* *e̱opuăn buijorŏūo* *mije̱n obo māta;* *uai͡jĕn akaga naṅ aṅ* *ate̱ṅe̱ṅ idōna e̱tan eap iaṅ ō.*	Lustige Lieder. Süden und Norden! Sei mir nicht böse, sei mir nicht böse, denn eben bin ich aus der Klausur heraus und stehe ich hier, bin ich hier oho! Allen Schmuck habe ich von den Voreltern ich kann nicht sagen, wie reich ich bin, und vorn und hinten hab ich Schmuck; ich gebrauche schwarze Farbe, und niemand kann alles an meinem Leibe zählen.	Merriment songs. South and North! Don't be angry with me, don't be angry with me, because I just got out of the enclosure and here I am, here I am, oh my! All my jewelry I got from my ancestors I can't say how rich I am, and from here and there I have scarves; I use black paint, and nobody can count everything on my body.
Atage̱du matage̱da *mai͡ ikibü̥réi ija̤kuai͡ ijakuai͡* *atage̱du matage̱da* *mai͡dera ai͡dera* *buai͡ barŏ eara ijōn ō!* *eraraijaraija!* *arogāna mī* *eraraijaraija!* *eroue inan itup' aṅuṅŭṅ* *eraraijaraija!*	Ich gehe auf und ab die roten Muscheln klappern ich gehe auf und ab, wir irrten, wir fehlten, wir schmückten uns mit den Falschen! Hahahahaha! Ich komme nun hahahahaha! Heb hoch den Schamschurz mit Fransen hahahahaha!	I pace up and down the red shells clatter I pace up and down, we erred, we were wrong, we adorned ourselves with the wrong ones! Hahahahaha! I'm coming now hahahahaha! Raise up the shame fringed grass-apron hahahahaha!
Amaṅ apuaṅ mama kukué̱du, *e̱tŏn ininmage̱n,* *ararata . . . . . .,* *ama bai͡ea eo ai͡apudu* *A͡uirie̱ré̱a* *bue̱ dakadak ee̱ṅ aṅe ō!*	Wir holen alle Früchte herab, ein Mädchen ist darunter, man holt (Name)[1] fort, wir überlegen uns, warum er nicht umfällt Auiriäräa, denn es lacht der Gott[2] am Boden, oho! [1] Schutzgott des Hauses. Ein Stein wurde neben das Haus gesetzt und in ihm der Beschützer verehrt.	We bring down all the fruit, a girl is among them, (Name) is taken away, we wonder why he doesn't fall over Auirierea, because the god [2] is laughing on the ground, oho! [2] Guardian deity of the house. A stone was placed next to the house and the protector was worshipped within it.

[p.237]

Nach Beendigung des Tanzes kehren alle heim und legen den Schmuck ab. Die temonibe-Tochter behält nur das breite *erebuijibui*.

Alle eßbaren Sachen, welche das Mädchen etwa berührt, werden dadurch für jedermann tabu; keiner darf davon genießen. Die Dorfbewohnerschaft macht sich eifrig daran, für den nächsten Tag umfassende Vorbereitungen zum Schlußfeste der Pubertätsfeier zu treffen. Das ist ein großes Eßgelage, *e kadaro*, zu dem jeder nach Kräften beisteuert. Früchte, Fische, vor allem *ibia* wurden herbeigeschleppt; jeder sucht seine ganz besondere Ehre darin, möglichst viel herbeizubringen, denn das wird öffentlich und noch lange gerühmt.

Am nächsten Tage versammeln sich die Festteilnehmer vor dem Elternhause des temonibe-Mädchens. Hier sind zwei große, federngeschmückte Speere, *e rage*, in den Boden gerammt, und an ihm legt man die Gaben nieder. Das Essen wird zu hohen Haufen, *drebu*, aufgestapelt, von dem einer dem Vater, der andere der Mutter des temonibe-Mädchens gehört. Ist alles herbeigebracht, dann läßt man sich zum Schmause nieder. Die Vornehmen, die Landbesitzer, lassen sich in einer Reihe vor den beiden Essenhaufen nieder, links und rechts von ihnen sitzt in Reihen das Volk (s. Abb. 25).

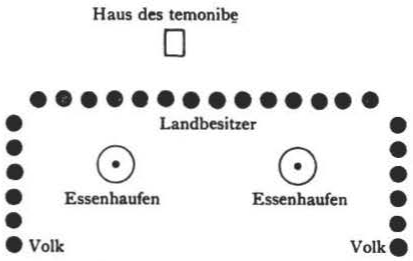


Abb. 25. Das Essensfest *ekadara*.

Dann beginnt die Verteilung der Vorräte, und die Schmauserei währt bis in die Nacht hinein. Lieder füllen die Eßpausen aus. Kleine und große Gesänge werden angestimmt, deren Inhalt Abenteuer, Ereignisse, Sagen usw. der Nauruleute bilden. Allerdings singt nicht jeder; es scheint besondere Sänger, Barden gegeben zu haben.

Damit schließt die Pubertätsfeier für das junge Mädchen ab, der dann häufig unmittelbar die Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten folgen.

After the dance ends, everyone returns home and removes their jewelry. The temonibe-daughter keeps only the wide *erebuijibui*.

All edible items that the girl may have touched become taboo for everyone; no one is allowed to eat them. The villagers eagerly set about making extensive preparations for the next day's concluding feast of the puberty celebration. This is a large feast, *e kadaro*, to which everyone contributes according to their ability. Fruits, fish, and especially *ibia* (a type of fish) have been brought; everyone seeks their special honor in bringing as much as possible, because this is publicly and long-praised.

The next day, the festival participants gather in front of the parents' house of the temonibe-girl. Here, two large, feather-decorated spears, *e rage*, are driven into the ground, and the offerings are placed against them. The food is piled into high heaps, *drebu*, one belonging to the father and the other to the mother of the temonibe-girl. Once everything has been brought, everyone sits down to feast. The nobles, the landowners, sit in a row in front of the two food heaps, with the common people sitting in rows to their left and right

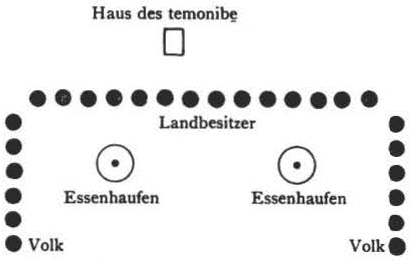


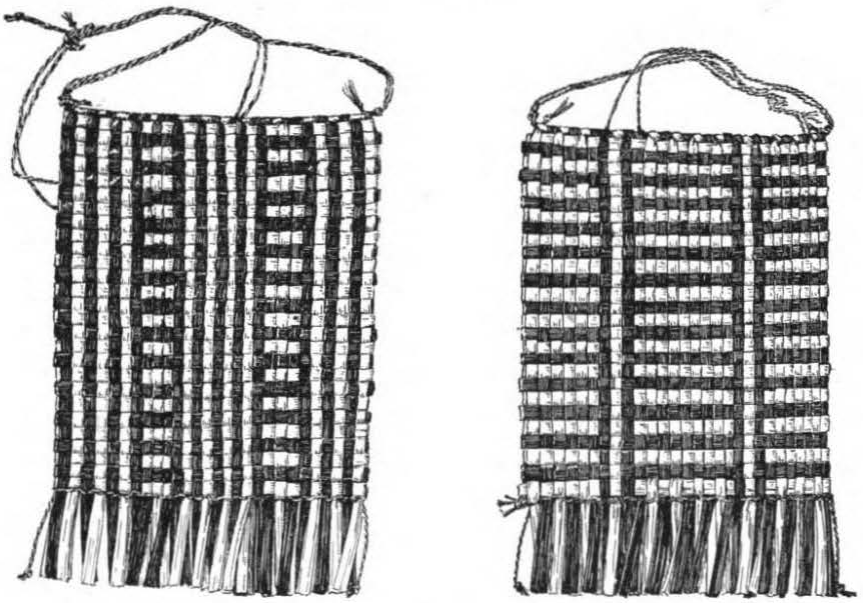
Abb. 25. Das Essensfest *ekadara*.

Then the distribution of provisions begins, and the feasting lasts until late into the night. Songs fill the breaks between meals. Short and long songs are sung, their content consisting of adventures, events, legends, etc., of the Nauru people. However, not everyone sings; there seem to have been special singers, bards.

This concludes the puberty celebration for the young girl, which is then often immediately followed by the wedding festivities.

Für die übrigen Mädchen werden derartige Feste nicht abgehalten. Sobald ein Mädchen zum ersten Mal menstruiert, wird ihm von den Eltern im Busche ein kleines Häuschen *eoak ĭn era* erbaut, in dem es zehn Tage bleibt, und das es auch in den künftigen Monaten aufsucht. Bei der Rückkehr ins Elternhaus erhält es einen schönen großen Schurz als Kennzeichen seiner neuen Frauenwürde. In einigen Familien werden dem Mädchen auch die Haare abgeschnitten; es muß eine kleine dreieckige Kappe aufsetzen und eine Matte und Gürtel umlegen, die beide mit dem Familienmuster verziert sind. Sie bilden alle drei die äußeren Embleme der eingetretenen Reife des Mädchens. Es legt äußerlich die Abzeichen an, welche der Mann bei der Schwangerschaft seiner Frau zur Schau trägt (s. Abb. 26—28).

For the other girls, such celebrations are not held. As soon as a girl menstruates for the first time, her parents build her a small cottage in the bushes, *eoak ĭn era*, where she stays for ten days and which she also visits in the following months. Upon returning to her parents' house, she receives a beautiful, large apron as a symbol of her new womanhood. In some families, the girl's hair is also cut; she must put on a small triangular cap and wear a mat and belt, both decorated with the family pattern. These three elements together form the outward emblems of the girl's newfound maturity. It outwardly displays the markings that the man wears during his wife's pregnancy.



Vorderseite Rückseite

Abb. 27. Schwangerschaftsmatte, S. Na. 54, *bäiju*. *(Idrua)* ½ w. G.

Pregnancy mat

Abb. 28b.
Detail zu S. Na. 53. Zeigt den Verlauf der schwarzen Hibiskus-Baststreifen.

Abb. 26. Menstruationskappe. S. Na. 190. ½ w. Gr.

Menstruation Cap

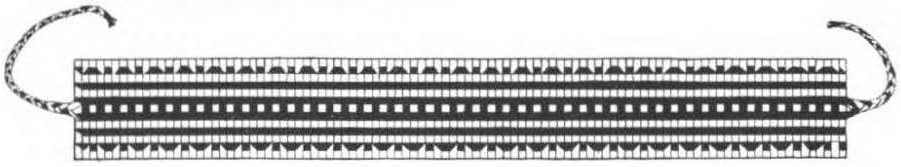


Abb. 28a. Gürtel, S. Na. 53, *dogätebĕn*. 1/3 w. G.

Notes:

1.
'Micronesian' in this paper is used to describe the group of languages sharing the same common ancestor language that developed from the earlier ancestor language referred to as 'Proto-Oceanic' – itself a descendent of the original ancestor language referred to as 'Proto-Austronesian'.

The major member languages of the Micronesian group of languages are (alphabetically): Carolinian, Chuukese-Mortlockese, Kiribati, Kosraean, Marshallese, Mwokilese, Nauruan, Pingelapese, Pohnpeian, Puluwatese, Satawalese, Sonsorolese, Ulithian, and Woleaian.

Micronesian, used as a cultural/geographic area, includes (in addition to the above):

(a) the people of Belau, and the Chamorro people of Guam and the Mariana Islands (the languages of these two peoples are more closely related to the languages of the Philippines, and these two peoples appear to have been in-situ far longer than any of the other groups);

(b) the people of Yap (who predated the arrival of the peoples now speaking the Micronesian group of languages, but whose language descended from Proto-Oceanic);

(c) the people of the atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro, who are members of the Polynesian group of languages (also descended from Proto-Oceanic), who are more recent neighbours.

2.
Hernsheim, Franz. Die Marshall-Inseln *in* Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg 1885-1886, pp. 297 – 308.

3.
Hambruch, Paul. 1914. Ergebnisse Der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910: II. Ethnographie: B. Mikronesien, Band 1: Nauru, 1 Halbband pages 59 – 62.

4.
Underwood Jane H. 1989. Population History of Nauru: A Cautionary Tale *in* Micronesica 22(1):3-22.

5.
Wedgwood, Camilla H. 1936. Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific Part II *in* Oceania Vol. VI No. 4 page 369.

6.
Notes on Nauru, by Ernest Stephen (circa 1902) *in* Oceania, Volume VII Number 1 September 1936, pages 34 to 63

"The inhabitants are divided into twelve tribes or aroen: (1) Amed (water snake), (2) Emídemid (grass hopper), (3) Eméa (my eye), (4) Tébai, (5) Eaoáru, (6) Emóngum, (7) Erunibäck, (8) Ano, (9) Emídera, (10) Eruiti (high water line) six members only, (11) Iwui (louse) two members only, (12) Irua (foreigners), made up of all foreign tribes."

7.
All German language texts have been translated into English using Google Translate.

8.
Wilhelm Schmidt, Die Sprachlaute und ihre Darstellung in einem allgemainen linguistischen Alphabet [The sounds of speech and their representation in a general linguistic alphabet], Anthropos Vol. 2, 1907, pages 282-329, 508-587, 822-897 and 1058-1105.

9.
Report of the Nauruan Language Committee. Government Gazette No. 47, 5th November 1938.

10.
As with all materials pre-dating the last quarter of the 20th Century, many terms or words used by authors, academics and others are now considered to be out of date, or inappropriate, and sometimes offensive. No effort is made in this study to sanitize the original writings – they should be taken in the context of the times and mind-set of the writers.

11.
Wedgwood, Camilla H. 1936. Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific Part II *in* Oceania Vol. VI No. 4 page 387.

12.
Wedgwood, Camilla H. Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific Part I *in* Oceania Vol. VI No.4, 1936. Part II *in* Oceania Vol. VII No.1 page 20

Addendum 1. Camilla H. Wedgwood

Wedgwood, Camilla H. Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific Part I *in* Oceania Vol. VI No.4, 1936. Part II *in* Oceania Vol. VII No.1 pages 28-29

Formerly, when a girl's breasts first began to develop, her female *amenubwien* started to make mats and to prepare coconut oil in expectation of her first menstruation ceremony. Later a hut was built for her, a little removed from the dwelling houses, and in this the mats were arranged. Here the girl stayed for from ten to fourteen days, accompanied by her young female relatives. These might leave the hut during the day-time to visit their homes, but they always spent the night with the girl. They did not cook for her - indeed they were not permitted to touch her food or anything belonging to her-but every day they, made garlands for her to wear. While she was in the hut the girl observed a number of food tabus; older women prepared all her meals, did the work necessary about the hut, and in general supervised her conduct. Every day she was washed, oiled and censed, and she received visits from her kinswomen who brought her new mats and also food. This latter was not given to the girl but was redistributed among her visitors : that brought by the *amenubwien* on her father's side being given to the *amenubwien* on her mother's side and vice versa.

During her seclusion the girl did not receive any special instruction, but the old women who knew about such things recited tales to her and taught her songs. On the day when she was to leave the hut, she was washed and oiled as usual, adorned with necklaces, bracelets and armlets and a special breast ornament and dressed in the petticoats of an adult woman. Thus attired she went forth with her maids-in-waiting and walked about the village. There was no special feast to mark the end of her seclusion, but for a week, whenever she left her parents' homestead, she wore all her ornaments. This is a brief summary of the rites as they were performed for a girl of commoner rank. For a *tcmonibe* the ceremonies were very much more elaborate and were made very much more public : on every day of her seclusion the girl was seated in a specially constructed chair, and followed by a crowd of people singing, she was carried to the homesteads of her relatives from whom she received valuable gifts. One interesting feature of the first menstruation rites of a *temonibe* was the special dance between two parties of women (the grouping had apparently no relation to any kinship or social filiations) and in which men also used sometimes to join. Judged by present day Nauruan standards the dance was indecent, but its significance lay in this, that it was in a sense a war-dance, reminiscent, so I was told, of the fight between the mythological heroes Araimin and Abonoque, the flow of menstrual blood being, symbolically, the female equivalent for the shedding of blood by men in battle.

Note: There is not space here to describe the first menstruation rites in any greater detail. Hambruch *(op. cil.* pp. 220-237) gives a very long account of those of a *temonibe.* Unfortunately he does not make it quite clear what are the essential features of the rites and what are privately owned *kirire* rites.

Addendum 2. Solange Petit-Skinner

The Nauruans, pages 82-84.

There are in Nauru several traditional customs related to the puberty of girls, always celebrated by an important feast. When the first signs of coming puberty were shown, the entire family started to prepare for the great event, and to prepare the girl for it. If she were the oldest girl, and even more when she was the first born child, the celebration was memorable.

First, a little hut was built, especially for the girl, next to her parents house; always inland, or *poe*, and never toward the sea, or *imago*. For this reason the period of puberty, as well as the period of menstruation, is called *megapoe*, *meg* meaning to stay. Since the little hut, called *etoko*, was temporary, it did not have the strong structure of an ordinary house and was simply made of coconut leaves while beautifully decorated. Very fine and pretty mats were hung inside and covered the floor. The mat on which the young girl stayed was especially woven for her with a particular pattern, and called *yoni*. Scented leaves were spread all over the place, and changed frequently to give the hut a nice fragrance. Many decorations were made for it, as well as for the girl, since this period is unique in her life. Her grandmother, on the mother's side, decided when the time had come to go to the *etoko*. Then several women, as well as the grandmother, took care of the young girl, and taught her "how to do the next time"… The young Nauruan girl might stay two or three months in her hut, not allowed to do anything, not to go out. She therefore gained some weight, and her complexion became more pale. Her food, specially prepared and never mixed with the food of the family, was brought to her by the attending women. In earlier days, her food was to be touched only by her

grandmother. The women in charge of her rubbed her body with scented oil and frequently changed her coconut leaf skirt, as well as the leaves of her mat. After combing her hair, they added flowers. A sweet smell would float in the hut, and the girl would appear as beautiful as possible at the big feast given later in her honour.

When the first menstruation ended, the young girl, having become a woman, was then dressed with a very fine skirt of hibiscus and embellished with many ornaments composed of frigate bird feathers, milkfish, shells, and flowers. Decorated like a queen, the young new woman was carried around on a little raft, made of coconut sticks and coconut leaves and everyone was able to admire her beauty. When the tour ended the feast started.

The traditional feast provided abundant food for everyone, accompanied by many songs and games. The number of guests was in relation to the rank of the girls family, and each one brought many traditional presents, such as mats, baskets, adornments or fabrics. One characteristic of this celebration was that these gifts could not be exchanged as treasures usually are; it was strictly forbidden for anyone to take away anything offered at a puberty celebration. It was also strictly forbidden to take any food away from this feast, if this were done, the present or the food would become serious bad luck to the one who took it. An old man explained his regret in not being able to bring home something from such a celebration, but he knew that his family would've gotten sick by touching this food, or anything brought from the feast.

Nauruan Wordlist extracted from text .

abidan — see õbid

ake — H1.231 ekean erago, mock battle— of armed youth—concludes the ear-piercing ceremony – ake, 'to fight' + -an, Instrumental suffix

āeo — H1.223 probably *Ficus prolixa* Pacific banyan; current spelling: eaeo, eyayo, yayo

akuarau — H1.228 belt of ibia fish

apeóa — H1.236 north
apuíjup — H1.236 south
These terms in pre-contact Nauruan did not correspond to north and south. Camilla H. Wedgwood states:
"On the eastern side stands a rather large outcrop of rock at a place called Ganokoro. On the west coast…is another place called Arijeijen. These two spots mark the two important points of the compass, the place of sunrise and the place of sunset. To go in the direction of Ganokoro is *apwijuw* or eastwards; to go in the direction of Arijeijen is *apwewa* or westwards. There are no words to correspond with our 'north' and 'south', but the people always distinguish between going inland (*roga apoe*) and going towards the beach *'rodu apago*)…*roga* is the word used for 'ascend'; *rodu* for 'descend'". Oceania I.370

arekogo — H1.223 probably *Canavalia cathartica* Mauna Loa bean or *Canavalia rosea* sea bean or *Vigna marina* beach pea; current spelling: erekogo, irekogo

Auirieréa — H1.236 a Nauruan god

bara — H1.228 ebara, eṅa necklace from which a fish hangs

bătа — H1.235 ebătа, large mat in front of girl's pubic area for ijūre Dance

báuŏ — H1.227 shark; current spelling: ebawo

bia — H1.224 ibia, *Chanos chanos* milkfish; also pond; current spelling: ibía ibija ibiya
bŏk — H1.233 ibŏk, water; current spelling: ebog

brată — H1.228 ēbrată type of grass-apron, which is short and narrow and just covers the front and back

buer̄ — H1.223 ebuer̄ , basket; current spelling ebwer

dakare — H1.222 the resins drift on the reefs with the westerly wind – probably ambergris, highly valuable substance produced in the digestive system of sperm whales, often referred to as "floating gold" or "whale vomit." It is used primarily as a fixative in high-end perfumery to make scents last longer, featuring a complex, musky, sweet, and earthy aroma; probably Kiribati loan, te karea = ingredients to give perfume to oil; current spelling dagare

dagiga H1.231 squid; Kiribati: te kiika

dagua
H1.221 ŏ goroṭ e tăgue = ‘the whale comes from the sea’
edagua, ‘ whale’; probably Kiribati loan, te kua: sperm whale, porpoise .
Everyone rushes to the beach to see it.
This is the expression used when a girl has her first menstruation.

dako H1.222,223 edăko edako, room, girl’s house

dango H1.232 etaṅo pandanus staple food ; edaŋo cooked pandanus cake; probably from Kiribati: te tangauri. a sun-dried cake of pandanus-fruit and coconut-flesh Grimble 1933

darakui H1.234 edarakui “is a small swallow(?) with swan-like plumage and a white breast. It calls out taribago, taribago! When it calls, women and girls must menstruate”.
[PS this is in fact the name recorded for Audubon’s shearwater (Puffinus lherminieri) – see Buden 2008a.]
derakúi H1.234 Möve [gull]
at the end of the puberty celebration, all married men called themselves edarakui , abandoning their personal names

deaenimuěnĕr̄a H1.222
playmates of the same age as the temonibe daughter - they must not have menstruated yet –probably de + ãinimwen, einumwen, ‘woman for…’ + era, ‘blood’

debai H1.224 edebai, seating, seat, place to sit; probable Kiribati loan: te bao, elevated surface
H1.226 tebai, open sedan chair
Current spelling: debae, debai

Abb. 14. Modell eines Tragestuhls, *ḍębagarübẹnimedan*. S. Na. 138.

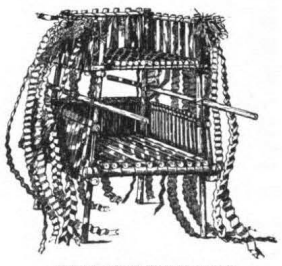


Abb. 15. Modell eines Tragestuhls, *ṭębai*. S. Na. 149.

debanue H1.225 open sedan chair has four carrying poles.

debao
H1.227 tebau thunder; Kiribati: te ba

denauror H1..227 needlefish [Hornhecht, garfish]

denenō H1.223 *Morinda citrifolia* beach mulberry; current spelling: deneno

dibenārre H1.223 idibenārre; probably *Premna serratifolia* premna; current spelling: idibiner, idibinerr

diteumēn H1.230 iditeumēn black paste made from coconut oil and charcoal is used to draw a line across the forehead (ear-piercing ceremony)

dogātebĕn H1.238 belt

dreb u H1.237 food piled into high heaps at end of puberty celebration

duw H1.227,229, 236 īdup idup' itup', vulva; current spelling: iduw

eaṅīt H1.223 probably *Scaevola taccada* beach saltbush; current spelling: emet, emed, emit

eāterăm H1.231 small fish

eātu H1.228 three fish fastened as epaulettes on her shoulders

ebo H1.225 small red fish.
Ebo is a term of endearment for girls
probably *Sargocentron caudimaculatum* white-tail squirrelfish

edeta H1.223 *Terminalia catappa* tropical almond; current spelling: eteta, etetah, etetö

enebōna H1.229 those females there; current spelling: ãinibũna, einibuna, änibuna

enimuĭn H1.224, woman for…; current spelling: ãinimwen, einumwen

karáue karauue H1.227,232 coconut toddy; Kiribati loan: te karewe = toddy, juice of coconut spathe, palm wine; current spelling: ekarawe

kauue H1.223,227 ekauue ekauue , generic name for a flower, a blossom; current spelling:ekauwe - possible Kiribati loan, kaue = wreath

ekuane H1.223 *Hibiscus tiliaceus* beach hibiscus; current spelling: ekwane

ekuongadip H1.226 the state that comes into effect when the temonibe-girl appears carried alofts whereby all previously imposed taboos are lifted everyone can take whatever they like from another's possessions.

ēmān H1.223 man,men

eṅa H1.224 *Spondylus* sp. [type of scallop] eṅa NII.6; current spelling: enga

eokuēra H1.225 silvery fish that is often eaten by others

euētogǫ́go H1.230 black frigatebird feather used as a pendant; ewen, feather of… + togogo, fully mature frigatebird

goroṭ H1.221 goro, 'to run' + -en, Perfective Aspect suffix → goron, gorot is the denasalized form
ŏ goroṭ ē tăguē H1.221 = 'the whale comes from the sea'. See dagua

Emanear The name of a woman in a Nauruan story/myth known as 'Concerning Emenear and her husband Akamujoŋ'; she is associated with a pillar on the beach in Anibare, being her petrified self

eǫ̆n H1.232 ekuǫ eǫ̆n, one canoe; Indefinite Determiner Classifier CL12[5], trough-shaped vessels, cars

egarāko H1.231 *Sargocentron rubrum* red squirrelfish; current spelling: egarokoa

idiaru H1.235 painted black dot on each cheek for ijūrē Dance

iditen H1.235 painted two curved lines above the eyebrows for ijūrē Dance

ijóu͡aiu͡oi H.234 butterfly; ijẹoa͡ioi NI.53 Butterfly species, possibly *Danaus plexippus* monarch butterfly

ijūrē H1.235 Dance at end of ear-piercing ceremony
ijurē H1.235 processional march, or iriaṅ ĭṅ͡oiabar

iǫ H1.223 *Calophyllum inophyllym* tomano; current spelling: ijo,iyo

kadabāniṅ H1.224 ē kadabāniṅ, belt composed of individual, long, narrow, chopped pieces of the red pectin shell

kadaro

ē kadaro H1.220 feast, festival, celebration, party; girl's puberty celebration
H1.221 menarche, first menstruation
H1.222 katarot ēnemuĕn ērā, puberty festivities in front of the house, possibly kadarot einimwen era = celebration for the blood-woman

karara

ekarara H1.226 the procession,

kareba H1.232 kareba pounded dried pandanus preserve; Kiribati: kéreboki, pandanus paste dried in thick small cakes

katarot see kadaro

kēāi H1.231 the men's eyes have a broad black stripe

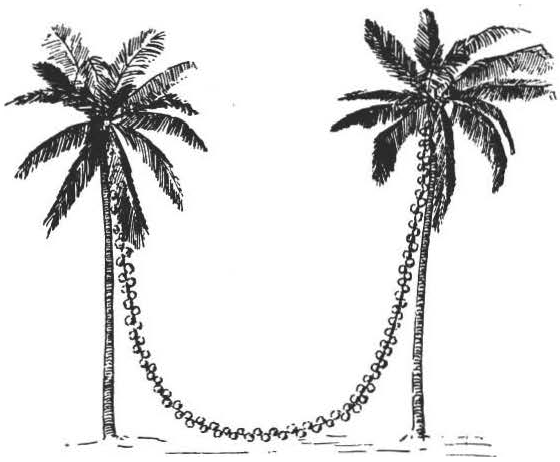
kean H1.231 ekean erago, mock battle— of armed youth—concludes the ear-piercing ceremony

keatu H1.234 narrow collar woven from strips of pandanus leaves and edged with black and white hibiscus bast braid sewn with small, round eṅa discs for ijūre Dance

kebererebeṟ H1.234 ekebererebeṟ, large red pectin shell worn on her parted hair for ijūre Dance

kedabānin H1.231 ekedabānin, festive apron for women

kemedritiĭṅ H1.229 ekemedritiĭṅ, coconuts tied together in a long chain attached to fruit fronds ` of two palm trees



kemaro

e kemaro H1.222 large, light-colored mats woven from coconut leaf fronds ; she sits down on these mats

kibur H1.230,236 NII.6, 53 ikibŭr̄ ikibŭṛ Ikiber ikibŭréi
Pecten pallicum Royal Cloak Scallop

kidāta H1.236 ikidāta, merriment songs

ko	H1.224 H1.230 e kóup' ekō, *Ovum ovulum* egg cowrie; current spelling: ekow egow H1.235 eko mother-of-pearl shell for ijūre Dance
kuọ	H1.232 ekuọ eọ̈n, one canoe [phonetic: e-kʷo Blum]
mekeabōbō	H1.231 broad black stripe around their upper and lower lips two narrow black lines
muijep	H1.223 muen muijep, shark tooth; mwin, tooth of… + múijeb, dolphin, shark imuijip – NI:54 Delphin imúijeb – EvN:317 Delphin
muen	H1.223 muen muijep, shark tooth = mwin muijeb
nānitib	H1.231 inānitib, festive apron for women, or ekedabānin
nemuenetен	H1.231 enemuenetен, the men step between the combatants; they speak for peace, ear-piercing ceremony
ni	H1.232 ini, young coconuts, coconut palm tree
ṅuṅ	H1.230 iṅuṅ grass-apron
óabar oáabar	H1.233 e óabar e oáabar, homestead for girl at conclusion of puberty celebration
oāk	H1.232, 237 e oāk ĭn ĕr̄a, blood house - ten days seclusion in two houses built by her father's retinue; current spelling: ewak eoag [phonetic: eu̯ǽg Blum.]
oáaroī	H1.231 eoáaroī, fence enclosing e óabar, made of sticks covered with mats
õbid	H1.221 abidan tib ĭn arān [possibly õbidõn tũbwin aran, 'anointing her head with her blood'; õbid, 'to anoint'; -õn, Instrumental suffix; tũbwin, 'head+3rd Sing.Possess.'; aran, 'blood+3rd Sing. Possess.']
obuidĭn	H1.234 eobuidĭn, young coconut fronds
óebi	H1.230 eóebi, eṅa band around neck
oeob	H1.221 eoeob, first section of celebration lasting six days
ogen	H1.234 Are you ready or not?; current spelling: w'ogen oa w'eitsiok? H1.234 āugen; current spelling: a ogen
‿oiabar	H1.235 iriaṅ ĭṅ‿oiabar, processional march

or̄ādětā́ H1.233 eor̄ādětā́, “It is the name of a small, blue, red, and yellow speckled migratory bird with a long, similarly speckled tail. It appears with the onset of the southwest monsoon.
A nickname for girls. [PS This is probably *Eudynamys taitensis* long-tailed cuckoo - see Buden 2008]

r̄a H1.232, 237 e oāk ĭn ěr̄a, blood house - ten days seclusion in two houses built by her father's retinue [phonetic: eřřæ Blum.]

ragow erago e rage H1.225, 231, 237 long battle spear made of coconut palm tree wood an

ekean erago H1.231 mock battle— of armed youth—concludes the ear-piercing ceremony; current spelling: eragow

réi H1.233 eréi, mantilla made of young coconut leaf fronds

po H1.232 epọ épo, *Pandanus tectorius* pandanus tree, pandanus fruit

rajetána H1.224 tufts of leaves tied around the ankles , anklets

rārā H1.228 erārā, long, sash-like bands of ibia

rara H1.235 erara, two intersecting bands made in the same style as the shoulder collar for ijūre Dance

rebuijibue H1.234, 237 erebuijibue, erebuijibui, multi-strand necklace of red eṅa beads for ijūre Dance

réiebape H1.235 bracelets consist of thin black and white cords adorned with shells, shark teeth, and feathers for ijūre Dance

réijetane H1.235 red eṅa necklaces for ijūre Dance

rejetebe H1.224 bracelet consisting of coconut fibers, hibiscus bast, and pandanus leaves

riaṅ H1.235 iriaṅ ĭn͡ŏiabar, processional march; current spelling: iriang, ‘song, to sing’

tăgue see dagua

tang H1.222 etaṅ iūgo, bathing place; etang, ‘the place’; ugo, ‘to bathe’

taṅo etaṅo, see dango

te H1.233 ite special grass-apron

tebagarūbenimedaṅ, debagarūbenimedaṅ
H1.225,226 open sedan chair has eight carrying poles (?)

te͡bau see debao

teb͡auruo H1.228 positional name for amenengame-girl in row dance

tagádibĭn H1.235 small mat tied below her navel for ijūr̲e Dance

t̲erauādi H1.225 open sedan chair has two carrying poles.

teruádu H1.228 positional name for girl in row dance

ti̲eru H1.230 black paste made from coconut oil and charcoal is used to draw a line diagonally across both cheeks (ear-piercing ceremony)

tip H1.221,222 itip itĭp, human hair; itũb, itub, 'head'

tubăr̄ H1.222 itubăr̄ , basket for urination; however itũbwer = 'mat'

túi H1.231 itúi black and white striped rod tipped with a shark's toot (ear-piercing ceremony)

tíuo H1.231 itíuo, beautifully woven dance mat

tubuitāra H1.230 itubuitāra, a long, wide tuft of hair that hangs down from the right hip (ear-piercing ceremony)

uańéi H1.228, 235 e̲uańéi, dance during ear-piercing ceremony

ugo H1.222 e̲taṅ iū́go, bathing place; etang, 'the place'; ugo, 'to bathe'

uȯbŏgi H1.228 positional name for amenengame-girl at opposite end of row dance

uogĕ̲n oā uéi tiŭk ōk?
H1.234 Are you ready or not?; current spelling: w'ogen oa w'eitsiok?

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